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Horace

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HORACE & HIS POETRY

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HORACE & HIS POETRY

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GENERAL PREFACE

A GLANCE through the pages of this little book will suffice to disclose the general plan of the series of which it forms a part. Only a few words of explanation, therefore, will be necessary.

The point of departure is the undeniable fact that with the vast majority of young students of literature a living interest in the work of any poet can best be aroused, and an intelligent appreciation of it secured, when it is immediately associated with the character and career of the poet himself. The cases are indeed few and far between in which much fresh light will not be thrown upon a poem by some knowledge of the personality of the writer, while it will often be found that the most direct—perhaps even the only—way to the heart of its meaning lies through a consideration of the circumstances in which it had its birth. The purely æsthetic critic may possibly object that a poem should be regarded simply as a self-contained and detached piece of art, having no personal affiliations or bearings. Of the validity of this as an abstract principle nothing need now be said. The fact remains that, in the earlier stages of study at any rate, poetry is most valued and loved when it is made to seem most human and vital ; and the human and vital interest of poetry can be most surely brought home to the reader by the biographical method of interpretation.

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This is to some extent recognized by writers of histories and text-books of literature, and by editors of selections from the works of the poets; for place is always given by them to a certain amount of biographical material. But in the histories and text-books the biography of a given writer stands by itself, and his work has to be sought elsewhere, the student being left to make the connexion for himself; while even in our current editions of selections there is little systematic attempt to link biography, step by step, with production.

This brings us at once to the chief purpose of the present series. In this, biography and production will be considered together and in intimate association. In other words, an endeavour will be made to interest the reader in the lives and personalities of the poets dealt with, and at the same time to use biography as an introduction and key to their writings.

Each volume will therefore contain the life-story of the poet who forms its subject. In this, attention will be specially directed to his personality as it expressed itself in his poetry, and to the influences and conditions which counted most as formative factors in the growth of his genius. This biographical study will be used as a setting for a selection, as large as space will permit, of his representative poems. Whether such poems are reproduced entire or in selections only, care will be taken to bring out their connexion with his character, his circumstances, and the movement of his mind.

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Then, in addition, so much more general literary criticism will be incorporated as may seem to be needed to supplement the biographical material, and to exhibit both the essential qualities and the historical importance of his work.

The plan thus outlined, which is substantially in the nature of a new departure, has already been successfully adopted in a number of volumes dealing with English poets. It is believed that it should prove equally successful with the old Roman poet to whose life and writings the present book is devoted.

WILLIAM HENRY HUDSON

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by representation, the old system might have been reorganized and invigorated to serve for centuries to come. But such was not to be. The enfranchised Italians became citizens of Rome only in name; for most of them it was altogether impossible to visit a city so far away in order to record their hard-won vote. In fact, the Allies never really felt that they had been admitted into the commonwealth of Rome, and this perhaps explains their apathy with regard to the Republican cause when after Cæsar's death the crisis came. Thus the government of the Roman world still remained the privilege of the populace of one city, and was administered by members of the narrow oligarchy, whose way to office was paved by shameless bribery. Very few of the officials so chosen ever discovered that "the end of government is the happiness of the governed," but, using their power for their own selfish interests, they laid for themselves the foundation of colossal fortunes at the expense of the unhappy provincials. And so, by reason of corruption and injustice at home and misgovernment and rapine abroad, the Roman Republic tottered to its fall. Time had yet to show what system should be established in order to save Mediterranean civilization from ruin, but the fact that the people of Rome were ready to acquiesce in the rule of one man long before the title Augustus was conferred upon the first of the Emperors may be gathered from such anomalies as the five successive consulships of Marius, the un-

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usual powers entrusted to Pompeius, and the dictatorships of Sulla and Cæsar.

The fourth decade of the first century before Christ is by no means the least interesting period in that eventful age. It began with the first consulship of Pompeius and Crassus, and ended with the so-called "First Triumvirate," in which the dominating force was Gaius Julius Cæsar—a statesman destined not only to surpass his colleagues in power and fame, but even to influence the history of all succeeding time. Within five years (a *lustrum*) of 70 B.C. the star of Pompeius had reached its zenith. By the Manilian Law of 67 B.C. he was entrusted by the Roman people with a command unique in the annals of the State. To clear the Mediterranean of those swarms of pirates who ravaged the coasts of the Great Sea and cut off the food-supplies of Rome, Pompeius, it was decreed, should hold command over that extensive seaboard and fifty miles inland, with power to dictate to all officials and to hold levies as he pleased. Armed with this extraordinary mandate, Pompeius in eighty days swept the sea from west to east and put an end to the depredations of those ancient "sea-wolves that lived upon the pillage of the world." Next year found him in charge of the war in Asia Minor against King Mithradates, in succession to the skilful but ill-starred general Lucullus, whose name, unfortunately for him, is remembered as that of a gourmet and not as that of a warrior. Not since the time of Hannibal had

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Rome to meet such a stubborn foe as the Pontic prince, and for several years the activities of her great general were fully engaged. While Pompeius was settling affairs in the East, and Crassus was busy with his money-making schemes at home, Julius Cæsar was quietly pursuing the career he had mapped out for himself. Step by step he had advanced through the Course of Offices (*cursus honorum*); he was quæstor in 69, curule ædile in 65, and prætor in 63. This last year was marked by the conspiracy of Catiline, in which the prætor was supposed to be involved, and which was frustrated chiefly through the measures adopted by one of the consuls of the year, the famous orator, Marcus Tullius Cicero. Toward the end of the decade, Pompeius, who had returned from his victory over Mithradates to find himself and his veterans ignored by the jealous Senate, was driven into forming with Cæsar and Crassus that Coalition of Three which assumed for its members the privilege of assigning, as they thought fit, the powers and offices of the Roman State. The acts of Pompeius in the east were ratified, Crassus and his capitalist friends were appeased, and to Cæsar was allotted the consulship for 59 B.C., with the assurance of a lengthened proconsular command to follow.

Such is a brief review of those eventful years. It bristles with the names of men renowned in the history of Rome; and within the same decade, too, we shall find recorded the birthdays

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(*dies natales*) of several others whose names were likewise to be written in the Book of Fame. In 70 B.C. Publius Vergilius Maro was born; about five years later Gaius Cilnius Mæcenas, *eques Romanus*, first saw the light; the year of Cicero's consulate claims the birthdays of Gaius Octavius, afterwards to be known as the Emperor Augustus, and of his greatest general, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa; in 60 B.C. another great warrior was born, Marcus Valerius Messalla, to whom Titus Livius, the historian, and Albius Tibullus, the elegiac poet, are each junior by little more than a year. Surely no other decade in history contains the birth-years of so many famous men. Yet from our list we have omitted the name of one who in course of time was to share the friendship of all the others, and who, like his friends, was destined to join the goodly company of the immortals. It is the life-story of this "dear old pagan," Quintus Horatius Flaccus, that we shall now describe, and illustrate as far as possible from his own comments upon what he and others thought and did in the stirring times in which he lived.

II

MANY of the odes of Horace set forth details of his life—his pursuits, his friendships, and his aspirations—but in order to get a picture of Horace the *man* we must go to his more homely and communicative works, the "Conversations" and "Letters,"

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or, as they are generally called, the "Satires" and "Epistles." With Horace, as with Cicero, it is the less formal and finished writings that lay bare to us the real character and temperament of the man. Of classical authors, these are the first to establish a personal relation with their readers, Cicero from the preservation of his correspondence, and Horace from his deliberate intention to share with all the world his private tastes and pleasures and with quaint but harmless egotism to unfold the story of his life. In doing this the poet, with his usual modesty, does not lay claim to originality ; he is simply following the example of one whom he terms "a better man than you or I," Gaius Lucilius, the first outstanding writer of Latin satire.

Quid faciam ? saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis ;
Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem
pugnis ; quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
milia. me pedibus delectat claudere verba
Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
credebat libris, neque si male cesserat usquam
decurrens alio, neque si bene : quo fit, ut omnis
votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella 10
vita senis. sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus
anceps ;
nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,
missus ad hoc, pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
sive quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum
incuteret violenta.

Sat. II, i. 24–39.

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In the year in which the ædile Cæsar, by lavish expenditure on public buildings and shows, was ingratiating himself with the Roman plebs, and incidentally running himself head over ears into debt, the consuls were Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Lucius Manlius Torquatus.[1] Thus when Horace addresses a wine-jar in the words

> O nata mecum consule Manlio,
> . . . pia testa . . .
> descende,
>
> Odes, III, xxi. 1, 4, 7.

we at once get a clue to the year of his birth. This year is confirmed and the month of December suggested in an epistle to be quoted later (ll. 1362-64), while on the authority of an old biography of the poet—attributed to Suetonius—the eighth day of the month is the generally accepted *dies natalis*.

From such references as that in l. 12 of our extracts we learn that Horace was born at Venusia. This town, the modern Venosa, is situated in Apulia, close to the border of Lucania. It was an old Roman colony, founded, as the poet tells us, on the expulsion of the Samnites (291 B.C.). Venusia lay on the northern slope of the "olive-sandalled" Apennines, and through it passed the queen of Roman roads, the Via Appia, along which came and went the traffic between Rome and Brundisium. The town had grown into a trading centre of considerable prosperity, and

[1] This consul's cognomen is used in Epode XIII, 6, to indicate the same year:

"Tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo."

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remained down to the time of Horace a great military station (*cf.* "pueri magnis e centurionibus orti"). The surrounding country, with its mountains and forests, early impressed itself upon the mind of the poet, and inspired him with a love of nature which finds expression all through his works. A few miles to the north-west of Venusia the extinct volcano Mount Voltur rose to the height of 4500 feet. Round its base ran the Aufidus, which in the rainy season came roaring down through a gorge in the hills to flow more gently over the plain of Daunia into the Adriatic Sea. The whole country to the south of Venusia is wild and picturesque, "meet nurse for a poetic child," and though Horace left the locality when a mere boy, the accuracy with which he applies the appropriate epithet to its various features is a proof of his keen power of observation and of his excellent memory. In the forests scattered here and there among the foot-hills of Apulia boars and other wild animals are still hunted.

III

HORACE'S father had been a slave, and was therefore of foreign extraction. What his nationality was we are not told, but the probability is that he was a Greek; the shrewdest and most learned slaves in Roman service, we find, generally came from Hellas or her colonies. A former biographer of the poet, in suggesting that Horace had Greek blood in

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his veins, thus pointedly alludes to his Hellenistic sympathies : "De Horatii gente nihil constat, nisi fuisse eum quod et ipse prodit, libertini generis et patria Venusinum : crediderim etiam et domo Græcum, quod nusquam Romano more in Græculos desæviat, immo quandoque eos collaudet et vel Romanis suis anteferat."[1] This surmise would also tend to account for Horace's exceptional knowledge of the Greek tongue, for though he afterwards studied its grammar and literature at Rome and Athens, his acquaintance with Greek idiom and rhythm indicates more than a merely acquired knowledge. Like sons of foreign residents in most countries, Horace, no doubt, would grow up bilingual.

No matter what the elder Horace may have been by descent, in spirit he was a thorough Roman, simple, practical, and endowed with such heaven-sent mother-wit (*crassa Minerva*) as the son attributes to the rustic sage Ofellus. Before the future poet was born his father had become a freedman (*libertinus*), and out of his savings he had managed to purchase a small farm. By profession he was a *coactor*—that is, either a collector of money at public sales (an auctioneer's clerk), or a sub-collector of taxes. The Suetonian "Life" adds that he was a *salsamentarius*, or dealer in salt fish. At all events, he must have been a thrifty man, for besides acquiring the farm (*macer agellus*) referred to, he had saved enough to give his son a splendid and expensive education. Horace

[1] From the preface to Baxter's "Horace," London, 1809.

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everywhere speaks of his father in terms of deep respect and affection, but nowhere does he allude to any other member of the family. From this we conclude that the poet was an only son, and that his mother died when he was an infant. Had Horace, with his sweet and loving disposition, remembered anything of mother or playmates their names would undoubtedly have been enshrined in his verse, and perhaps another "Ave atque Vale" added to the treasure-store of poesy. The only member of the paternal household to whom reference is made is a nurse, Pullia, with whom Horace spent a holiday among the hills, and from whose care on one occasion he wandered off and fell asleep in the woods, where, to the surprise of the neighbourhood, he was found covered with leaves of myrtle and bay, which the woodland doves had dropped upon him.

Me fabulosæ Volture in Apulo 20
nutricis extra limina Pulliæ
ludo fatigatumque somno
fronde nova puerum palumbes
texere, mirum quod foret omnibus,
quicumque celsæ nidum Acherontiæ
saltusque Bantinos et arvum
pingue tenent humilis Forenti,
ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra
lauroque collataque myrto, 30
non sine dis animosus infans.[1]

Odes, III, iv. 9–20.

[1] For another reference to his childhood see ll. 637-42.

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As was natural in the case of an only child, Horace spent much of his time in the company of his father, who seems early to have recognized the exceptional ability of the boy and to have tried by example and precept to guide him into a life of virtue and content. It was his Mentor's plan not to theorize on abstract good and evil, but to pick out from among their acquaintances examples of men addicted to some fault or other, and to indicate to the youth the consequences of their folly. This practical education on common-sense lines reminds one of the relationship between William Burnes of Alloway and his sons, to which a brother of the Scottish national poet thus refers : "My father was for some time almost the only companion we had. He conversed familiarly with us as if we had been men, and was at great pains, while we accompanied him in the labours of the farm, to lead the conversation to such subjects as might tend to increase our knowledge or confirm us in virtuous habits." It would appear that the instruction of Horace in the rudiments was also undertaken by his father, who, the poet tells us, "would not send me to the local school where the sons of the grand officers used to go at the cost of a few coppers per month, but when I was quite a youngster he had the courage to take me with him to Rome and give me an education there worthy of any senator's son." Nor would the old man entrust the clever boy to the usual *pædagogus* and attendants. In the following extract from a satire addressed to Mæcenas the

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poet gives his father credit for all the good that is in him, and paints a charming picture of the old man in the capital, trudging along contentedly by his side as he went the daily round of his tutors.

Magnum hoc ego duco,
quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,
non patre præclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.
atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, velut si
egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore nævos,
si neque avaritiam neque sordes ac mala lustra
obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons,
ut me collaudem, si et vivo carus amicis ; 40
causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
ibant octonis referentes Idibus æra ;
sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum
artes, quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
semet prognatos. vestem servosque sequentes,
in magno ut populo, si qu vidisset, avita
ex re præberi sumptus mihi crederet illos. 50
ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
circum doctores aderat. quid multa ? pudicum,
qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi ;
nec timuit, sibi ne vitio quis verteret, olim
si præco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor
mercedes sequerer : neque ego essem questus ; at hoc nunc
laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.
nil me pæniteat sanum patris huius, eoque

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non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars, 60
quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,
sic me defendam. longe mea discrepat istis
et vox et ratio.

Sat. I, vi. 62–93.

In another of the satires Horace narrates one of his father's practical lessons in morality, and ascribes to such early training his own readiness with joke or pointed criticism.

Liberius si
dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris
cum venia dabis : insuevit pater optimus hoc me
ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando.
cum me hortaretur, parce frugaliter atque
viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset :
" nonne vides, Albi ut male vivat filius utque 70
Baius inops ? magnum documentum, ne patriam rem
perdere quis velit." a turpi meretricis amore
cum deterreret : " Scetani dissimilis sis."

. . . . . .

" sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu
sit melius, causas reddet tibi : mi satis est, si
traditum ab antiquis morem servare tuamque,
dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
incolumem possum ; simul ac duraverit ætas
membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice."
sic me
formabat puerum dictis ; et sive iubebat 80
ut facerem quid, " habes auctorem, quo facias hoc,"
unum ex iudicibus selectis obiciebat ;
sive vetabat, " an hoc inhonestum et inutile factu

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necne sit addubites, flagret rumore malo cum
hic atque ille ? " avidos vicinum funus ut ægros
exanimat mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit :
sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe
absterrent vitiis. ex hoc ego sanus ab illis,
perniciem quæcumque ferunt, mediocribus et quis
ignoscas vitiis teneor. fortassis et istinc 90
largiter abstulerit longa ætas, liber amicus,
consilium proprium. neque enim, cum lectulus aut me
porticus excepit, desum mihi.

Sat. I, iv. 103–134.

IV

THE visitors from Venusia arrived in Rome about a year after the death of the lyric poet Catullus, and now, if he had not done so before, Horace would become acquainted with the works of the young and versatile genius whose experiments in metre he was afterwards to carry forward and to surpass. While father and son were quietly pursuing the object which had brought them to the capital, on every side were evidences of great political excitement and disorder. We left Cæsar as consul in Rome for the year 59 B.C. With such a strong hand did he rule that his incapable colleague became the butt of the wits about town, who dubbed the year that of "Julio et Cæsare consulibus," and delighted in *bon mots* of this type :

Non Bibulo quoddam nuper sed Cæsare factum est,
Nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.

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To Cæsar's colleague Horace has one allusion in a drinking song (Odes, III, xxviii.), where he is perhaps punning on the derivation of the name. When Cæsar and Bibulus demitted office, the former, according to the arrangement of the Triumvirate, was entrusted with pro-consular power in Gaul for five years. By a conference at Lucca in 56 B.C. the Triumvirs extended Cæsar's command for five years more, at the end of which time, it was agreed, he should stand for a second consulship without personal canvass. In return Pompeius was to have a five-years command in Spain, and Crassus the like in Syria, while these two were to be colleagues for the second time in the consulship of 55 B.C. During his ten years in Gaul Cæsar extended and consolidated the supremacy of Rome from the Cevennes to the Rhine, and proved himself a warrior and a statesman second to none. Unfortunately in those days it was the fate of nearly every great man to fall under the ban of that effete and selfish body which had gradually arrogated to itself the right to guide the affairs of the Roman world. Little by little the Senate won Pompeius from his alliance with the absent Cæsar and forced him to pose as the champion of their interests, until it was clear to all that a fatal breach must follow. And when in 54 B.C. Julia, the beloved daughter of Cæsar and wife of Pompeius, died, the strongest bond between the two great generals was for ever broken. Next year, after the battle of Carrhæ, in distant Syria, Crassus fell at the head of his

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men. The balance of power was shaken, and from that time forth both parties drifted into civil war. It was well for the youthful Horace that during those years he had in his father a *custos incorruptissimus*, for the condition of the capital was far from suitable for peaceful folk. Anarchy and discord prevailed to such an extent that after the murder of the disreputable Clodius in 52 B.C. martial law had to be proclaimed. Pompeius ruled as sole consul for six months, and managed to restore order in the city, but thenceforward he regularly abetted the anti-Cæsarian policy of the Senate, until two years later matters reached a climax. Cæsar, while willing to make concessions on several points, adhered to the main arrangements made at the conference at Lucca, and so when Pompeius and his party finally repudiated these no course remained but a decision by the sword. In January of 49 B.C. Cæsar crossed the Rubicon and inaugurated a new era in the history of Rome. From that time until the day of his death he remained king in all but name. In him the idea of the sovereignty of one was revived among the Romans, and we may consider as mere wars of succession the fighting that took place between his death and the final victory of his heir, Octavianus.

When the civil war was in its early stages Horace would be of age to lay aside his boyish toga (*toga prætexta*), and with due ceremonial to assume the robe of Roman manhood (*vestis virilis :* Sat. I, ii. 16). He continued his studies

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in Rome for three or four years thereafter, and many were the stirring scenes he must have witnessed as news filtered into headquarters of fight after fight in that grim struggle waged all over the Roman world. Nor can we imagine that the young provincial was incapable of understanding the importance of these events, or that he remained merely an uninterested spectator. What side he sympathized with we shall learn later, but we may reasonably conclude that it took all the patience and address of his wise old father to keep the lad (*irasci celerem :* Epist. I, xx. 25) from rushing into arms, or at least assailing with his pen the party he distrusted. At all events, during those years of turmoil at home and abroad Horace made steady progress with his studies. Orbilius Pupillus, who had been a soldier and was evidently a strict disciplinarian, is the only one of his teachers whom he mentions by name. To him the poet has applied an epithet (*plagosus :* Epist. II, i. 70) which has since become proverbial in describing teachers of the Dr. Thwackum type, and was well deserved, as we learn from the reference in Domitius Marsus to scholars :

Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit.

Under old Orbilius and other masters Horace was drilled in Greek, and acquired a thorough knowledge of the literature of his native land. This literary training would be accompanied by courses of music and rhetoric, two subjects which

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could not be excluded from the education of a Roman gentleman. One is inclined to think, too, that Horace would now begin to gain some acquaintance, although perhaps against his grain (*invita Minerva*), with the exercises of the gymnasium and with the use of arms. On his training, at any rate, no expense was spared, and all the while it was carefully supervised by his observant guardian.

In the meantime decisive victories at Pharsalus, Zela, Thapsus, and Munda disposed of Pompeius and his partisans, and left Cæsar in undisputed mastery. His triumph, however, was short-lived. Jealousy, for ever at work, marked him for her victim, and in the year 44 B.C., upon the Ides of March,

> Even at the base of Pompey's statuë,
> Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell.

V

ABOUT two years before the murder of Cæsar, by which time the East had become tolerably peaceful, Horace had been sent to pursue his studies in Greece. No wonder that he dearly loved that slave-born father who was ready to make such sacrifices for him. One cannot help thinking that during his stay in Rome the elder Horace may have been cheered and confirmed in his plans for his son's welfare by coming upon a sentiment which Plato in the "Euthydemus" ascribes to his beloved

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master : " 'Seeing then,' says Socrates, 'that all desire happiness, and happiness, as has been shown, is gained by a use, and a right use, of the things of life, and the right use of them, and good fortune in the use of them, is given by knowledge, the inference is that everybody ought by all means to try to make himself as wise as he can.' "[1] Whether he was acquainted with the passage or not, the father was inspired with the spirit of Plato's teaching, and the future poet, now about nineteen years of age, was given the opportunity of studying at the fountain-head the philosophy and literature of the land,

> Where each old poetic mountain
> Inspiration breathed around ;
> Every shade and hallowed fountain
> Murmured deep a solemn sound.

At Athens, the university centre of the ancient world, Horace spent the remainder of his student days, and there, *par inter pares*, he met and made friendships with the sons of many noble Romans who had come thither, like himself, " to search for truth amid the groves of Academus."

> Romæ nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri,
> iratus Grais quantum nocuisset Achilles.
> adiecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ,
> scilicet ut vellem curvo dignoscere rectum 100
> atque inter silvas Academi quærere verum.
>
> Epist. II, ii. 41–45.

Horace was studying at Athens when news arrived of the fatal deed of the Ides of March.

[1] Jowett's translation.

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The atmosphere of a university, it seems, must ever be conservative. It is this that in our own day makes a university "seat" so safe; it is this that made Oxford of old "the home of lost causes"; and it is this that made the Republican cause the popular one, in the days of Horace, with the young bloods at the Athenian university, especially as these youths numbered among them the sons of some of those very senators over whom the dictator had gained so signal a victory. It was not strange, then, that when Cæsar fell his opponents were acclaimed by these young Romans as the deliverers of the State from that form of government which they instinctively feared, the tyranny of one. After Cæsar's death his colleague in the consulship, Mark Antony,[1] became his executor and avenger. In this task he was joined by Cæsar's grand-nephew and heir, the young Octavianus, after some differences had been settled between the two. But even before this alliance was formed the chief conspirators had withdrawn from Italy, nominally to undertake posts in the provinces assigned them by the Senate. Of these, Brutus and Cassius, the governors of Macedonia and Syria respectively, immediately set about collecting forces to oppose the party of Cæsar's avengers. In the course of the circuit of his province Brutus reached Athens in the month of September, 44 B.C., and there he was welcomed by the Roman students as the visible champion of the Republic and freedom. From

[1] The Anglicized form of this name will be used throughout.

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these young men the Liberator, as he was called, selected several to hold commissions in his army, among them being the future poet. Some commentators suggest that Brutus either made an error of judgment or was forced to "take the best of a bad lot" when he appointed the youthful son of a freedman to a tribuneship—a position which corresponds to that of a colonel in our army, and in those days often entailed the command of a legion. But we should remember that Horace would not have reached the age of twenty-one without some training in arms, and we should rather consider this appointment as a proof of the esteem in which his abilities were even already held. Brutus, we know, was a seasoned warrior and was not likely to jeopardize his cause by choosing inefficient officers. At any rate, despite the fact that he was neither tall nor robust, and that, as he himself confesses, he was not fitted for a soldier's life, Horace in the arduous campaign that followed did his duty to the satisfaction of his chief. In the humorous envoy to the first book of the Epistles, written long afterwards, he says :

> . . . Liber, . . . loqueris . . .
> me primis urbis *belli* placuisse domique,
>
> Epist. I, xx. 1, 21, 23.

and Horace was not a man to boast or prevaricate.

The two years of campaigning which preceded the battle of Philippi gave Horace considerable experience in the art of war, in addition to

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extending his knowledge of the geography of the East. Early in the year 43 B.C. Brutus captured and put to death Gaius Antonius, who had managed to send the greater part of his forces—they were originally Cæsar's men—from Macedonia across to Brundisium to help his brother. After some desultory fighting against surrounding barbarians, Brutus evacuated Macedonia, and, marching through Thrace, crossed over into Asia Minor, part of which was also under his jurisdiction. There he levied large sums of money and collected a fleet, at the same time sending word to Cassius to hasten from Syria to his aid. The latter in the meantime had also gathered a large army and fleet, with the greater part of which he joined Brutus in the spring of the year 42, at Smyrna, in Lydia. From several references in the works of Horace we gather that the poet was personally acquainted with this region. The next move of Brutus was against the Lycians in the south, whose cities he brought into subjection, and thereafter in the summer he rejoined his colleague at Sardis. Having extorted nearly ten years' tribute in advance from the long-suffering provincials of Asia, Brutus and Cassius led their troops back to Europe, crossing the Hellespont by the historic passage at Abydos. Thence they followed the track of the old Persian invaders until they passed the borders of Macedonia, where in the neighbourhood of Philippi they first came into contact with the Cæsarian troops. Their ships had accompanied

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them along the coast, and were now anchored off the island of Thasos to keep the land forces in supplies.

During this time Antony and Octavianus, as already mentioned, had formed an alliance (along with Marcus Lepidus) to avenge the death of Cæsar. This alliance, the Second Triumvirate, began its career with the fearful proscriptions in which one of the most notable victims was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the old champion of the Republic. If the fellow-students of Horace had been antagonistic to Cæsar's cause before, their hatred must have increased to bitterness now when tidings reached them of the wholesale slaughter of their friends at home. Upon the mind of Horace, as we shall point out later, the thought of this time of cruelty had a lasting effect. The proscriptions over, Antony and Octavianus delegated Lepidus to preserve order in Italy and to cope with the piratical Sextus Pompeius, and themselves crossed with their troops to Dyrrachium ; thence they marched along the Via Egnatia and through Macedonia until, towards its eastern border, they were met by the forces of Brutus and Cassius.

The latter were strongly entrenched on a spur of the Pangæan range of mountains, and were protected in front by marshy ground. Their legions equalled in number those of the Triumvirs ; their cavalry, 20,000 strong, exceeded that opposed to them by fully one-third ; and for months to come they could depend on supplies from the fleet at Thasos. They were

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thus in every way splendidly situated for a prolonged campaign. The enemy, on the other hand, had left behind them a distracted Italy; they lacked provisions, and were now moving precariously, far from their base; one of their leaders, Octavianus, was out of action nearly all the time through ill-health; and they had the additional disadvantage of having to begin the assault. For a few weeks constant skirmishing went on between the opposing forces, until, late in October, Antony in desperation pushed a road through the marsh, and with great loss captured the camp of Cassius. On the same day Brutus attacked and seized the camp of the absent Octavianus. As both parties had to withdraw to their original positions before nightfall, the first battle of Philippi ended in a cross victory; but the advantage lay with the Cæsarians, for Cassius had received wrong information about the doings of Brutus, and, mistaking an approaching squadron of his colleague's horsemen for foes, had taken his own life. In a few days the fighting was renewed, but Brutus kept his men in check and let the opposition of the enemy wear itself out in fruitless assault. Had this policy been continued the campaign of Philippi might have had a different ending, but the officers of Brutus's army, confident in numbers and prowess, at length persuaded the reluctant general to offer battle. About the middle of November the second battle of Philippi was fought. From the initial skirmishing to the last death-grapple it was stubbornly con-

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tested, and the day was far spent before the army of Brutus broke and fled. The commander himself retired with four legions in good order, but, finding that his followers were unwilling to continue a hopeless struggle, he ordered his freedman Strato to kill him. Such was the end of "the noblest Roman of them all," the last hero of the Republic.

Well might Horace have been thankful for his own escape, for Antony, fearing a rally of the foe, had given orders that all officers captured should be immediately put to death. Among those who escaped along with Horace were Pompeius Varus and Marcus Valerius Messalla. The latter, like the poet, availed himself of the amnesty granted by the victors, and later on, entering the service of the future Emperor, rose to be one of the greatest men in Rome. Pompeius Varus, on the other hand, seems to have continued in arms against Octavianus until after the battle of Actium, when he too was pardoned and retired from public life. In the following ode, written about 30 B.C., Horace reminds his old comrade of their fighting days, and invites him to pay him a visit and celebrate their reunion over beakers filled with mellow Massic wine :

O sæpe mecum tempus in ultimum
deducte Bruto militiæ duce,
quis te redonavit Quiritem
dis patriis Italoque cælo,
Pompei, meorum prime sodalium,
cum quo morantem sæpe diem mero

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fregi coronatus nitentes 110
malobathro Syrio capillos ?
tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi relicta non bene parmula,
cum fracta virtus et minaces
turpe solum tetigere mento.
sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
denso paventem sustulit aëre ;
te rursus in bellum resorbens
unda fretis tulit æstuosis.
ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem, 120
longaque fessum militia latus
depone sub lauru mea nec
parce cadis tibi destinatis.
oblivioso levia Massico
ciboria exple, funde capacibus
unguenta de conchis. quis udo
deproperare apio coronas
curatve myrto ? quem Venus arbitrum
dicet bibendi ? non ego sanius
bacchabor Edonis : recepto 130
dulce mihi furere est amico.

Odes, II, vii.

VI

FROM the scene of his soldiering Horace made his way back to Italy. Brundisium, which was thronged with the Cæsarian troops, he would possibly avoid ; and perhaps it was on this occasion that he was nearly shipwrecked off Cape Palinurus, in Lucania. His escape from Philippi and from the dangers of the Sicilian Sea the poet after-

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ward attributed to the protecting care of the Muses :

> Vestris amicum fontibus et choris
> non me Philippis versa acies retro,
> devota non exstinxit arbos,
> nec Sicula Palinurus unda.
>
> Odes, III, iv. 25–28.

Arrived in Italy, Horace found his father dead and his estate gone. Like that of many another, his patrimony had been confiscated to satisfy the demands of the victorious soldiers of Antony and Octavianus. In the year after Philippi, when the allotment of land to the veterans was made, Horace took up his abode in Rome, and there in his poverty he was forced to write poetry for a living. In the last of his Epistles the poet sums up with a certain grim humour the period of his life from the end of his university days to the beginning of his literary career in the capital :

> Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,
> civilisque rudem belli tulit æstus in arma,
> Cæsaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
> unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
> decisis humilem pinnis inopemque paterni 140
> et Laris et fundi, paupertas impulit audax
> ut versus facerem.
>
> Epist. II, ii. 46–52.

His prentice hand Horace tried on that easiest of all forms of verse, lampoons or personal satire. Of this early work one or two of the Epodes and Satires are typical, but it is probable that when his judgment became more mature the poet

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allowed many similar effusions to remain in oblivion. He was no doubt goaded into writing such "scurrilous iambics" by the thought of the vicissitudes through which he was passing and of all that he had lost.

Most wretched men
Are cradled into poetry by wrong ;
They learn in suffering what they teach in song.

That he afterwards regretted the enmity such writing excited and was ready to apologize for youthful indiscretions we may gather from the following ode of recantation (*palinodia*) to a lady whom he had once lampooned :

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior,
quem criminosis cunque voles modum
pones iambis, sive flamma
sive mari libet Hadriano.

. . . . .

fertur Prometheus, addere principi
limo coactus particulam undique
desectam, et insani leonis
vim stomacho apposuisse nostro. 150

. . . . .

compesce mentem : me quoque pectoris
temptavit in dulci iuventa
fervor et in celeres iambos
misit furentem ; nunc ego mitibus
mutare quæro tristia, dum mihi
fias recantatis amica
opprobriis animumque reddas.

Odes, I, xvi.

During the first period of his stay in Rome

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Horace may have had to depend wholly upon the proceeds of his pen, but before long he secured an appointment in the quæstor's department, the Treasury of olden days. However uncongenial the work of a clerk may have been to the poet, the salary it brought would be a welcome addition to his resources. He still went on with his poetical compositions, in some of which he turned from personalities to comment upon and to lament over the evils of the time. It was the wider appeal of those more dignified verses that brought Horace into prominence and augured well for his future as a poet.

After the battle of Philippi, Octavianus and Antony had divided between them the government of the Roman world. The latter took over the management of the East, while the youthful Cæsar, as we may now call him, returned to Italy as quickly as ill-health would permit. At this time Lucius Antonius, another brother of the Triumvir, held the consulship, and not many months elapsed ere Cæsar and he came into collision over what Lucius claimed to be the unjust treatment of his brother's veterans in the allotment of the confiscated land. It would be at this crisis that Horace addressed to the Roman people the following grave warning against the sin and folly of taking sword in hand to shed a kinsman's blood :

> Quo, quo scelesti ruitis ? aut cur dexteris
> aptantur enses conditi ?
> parumne campis atque Neptuno super 160
> fusum est Latini sanguinis,

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non ut superbas invidæ Karthaginis
Romanus arces ureret,
intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via,
sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua
urbs hæc periret dextera ?
neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus
unquam nisi in dispar feris.
furorne cæcus an rapit vis acrior 170
an culpa ? responsum date.
tacent, et ora pallor albus inficit
mentesque perculsæ stupent.
sic est : acerba fata Romanos agunt
scelusque fraternæ necis,
ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
sacer nepotibus cruor.

Epode VII.

But " blind fury or some higher power " was not to be appeased. The quarrel between the consul and Cæsar drifted into the war known as the Perusian campaign. It is no fanciful picture that Horace paints of the convulsions which at this time shook his unhappy fatherland. Antony had already fallen under the spell of Cleopatra and was neglecting his duties in the East ; the Parthians, led by Labienus—that renegade son of a renegade father—were devastating the Roman provinces in Asia ; Sextus Pompeius, who for the last four years had been the corsair king of the Western Sea, was blockading the Italian ports, and to him additional ships had been sent by Mark Antony in order to increase the difficulties of Cæsar. In this time of trouble the poet predicts the ruin by intestine feuds of

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the great city which had withstood the shock of so many foreign foes, and urges the "manly hearts" among his countrymen, like the Phocæans of old, to leave their homeland and return no more.

Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus ætas,
suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.
quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi, 180
minacis aut Etrusca Porsenæ manus,
æmula nec virtus Capuæ nec Spartacus acer
novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,
nec fera cærulea domuit Germania pube
parentibusque abominatus Hannibal :
impia perdemus devoti sanguinis ætas,
ferisque rursus occupabitur solum.
barbarus heu cineres insistet victor, et urbem
eques sonante verberabit ungula,
quæque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini, 190
nefas videre ! dissipabit insolens.
forte quid expediat communiter aut melior pars
malis carere quæritis laboribus :
nulla sit hac potior sententia : Phocæorum
velut profugit exsecrata civitas
agros atque Lares patrios habitandaque fana
apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis,
ire, pedes quocumque ferent, quocumque per undas
Notus vocabit aut protervus Africus,
sic placet ? an melius quis habet suadere ? secunda
ratem occupare quid moramur alite ? 201
sed iuremus in hæc : simul imis saxa renarint
vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas ;
neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
in mare seu celsus procurrerit Appenninus,
novaque monstra iunxerit libidine

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mirus amor, iuvet ut tigres subsidere cervis,
adulteretur et columba miluo,
credula nec ravos timeant armenta leones, 210
ametque salsa levis hircus æquora.
hæc et quæ poterunt reditus abscindere dulces
eamus omnis exsecrata civitas,
aut pars indocili melior grege ; mollis et exspes
inominata perpremat cubilia.
vos, quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum,
Etrusca præter et volate litora.
nos manet Oceanus circumvagus.

Epode XVI, 1–41.

At this point the contrast between his own Iron Age and the Golden Age of tradition strikes the poet, and he diverges into a description of the Isles of the Blessed, in a passage full of beautiful imagery and written with rare poetic power.

Arva, beata
petamus arva divites et insulas, 220
reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis
et imputata floret usque vinea,
germinat et nunquam fallentis termes olivæ
suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem,
mella cava manant ex ilice, montibus altis
levis crepante lympha desilit pede.
illic iniussæ veniunt ad mulctra capellæ,
refertque tenta grex amicus ubera ;
nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
neque intumescit alta viperis humus. 230
pluraque felices mirabimur, ut neque largis
aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,
pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glæbis,
utrumque rege temperante cælitum.

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non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus
neque impudica Colchis intulit pedem ;
non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautæ,
laboriosa nec cohors Ulixei ;
nulla nocent pecori contagia, nullius astri
gregem æstuosa torret impotentia. 240
Iuppiter illa piæ secrevit litora genti,
ut inquinavit ære tempus aureum ;
ære, dehinc ferro duravit sæcula, quorum
piis secunda vate me datur fuga.

Epode XVI, 41-66.

Though harassed by foes on every side, Cæsar resolutely set himself to the task of securing peace. Leaving Pompeius alone in the meantime, he shut up Lucius Antonius in Perusia, an Etruscan hill-fortress, near the Trasimene Lake. In March of 40 B.C. starvation brought about the surrender of the enemy. As to the treatment of the captives accounts differ, but at all events Lucius was allowed to go free, and he, along with many of his brother's partisans, now withdrew from Italy. The young Cæsar had still to fear a formal alliance between Pompeius and Mark Antony, and so he made overtures to the latter for a renewal of their old compact. This was effected by the conference at Brundisium in July of the same year, and confirmed by a marriage between Cæsar's sister, Octavia, and his colleague in the Triumvirate.[1] Early in

[1] The conference was arranged by Mæcenas and Cocceius Nerva, and on this occasion the old Cæsarian Gaius Asinius Pollio acted for Antony. As a tribute to Pollio's services in the cause of peace, Vergil dedicated to him the famous fourth Eclogue, the so-called Messianic Eclogue, in which the poet prophesied the regeneration of mankind.

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the following year, 39 B.C., peace was also made with Sextus Pompeius, but it was of short duration, and before the year was out the cities of Italy began to suffer again from dearth of food. Cæsar immediately recalled his foremost general, Agrippa, from Gaul, and put him in charge of operations against his troublesome pirate foe; but even the genius of Agrippa was not to encompass the downfall of Pompeius until nearly three more years had passed.

VII

UPON the events of this time of storm and stress Horace has frequent comments to make. Despite the opinions he had formerly held, he was gradually becoming convinced that to distracted Italy peace could be given only by that leader of men against whom he had borne his ill-matched arms. But in the meantime the poet's own fortunes had taken a remarkable change for the better. The fame of his writings had brought him the friendship of many of the literary men of Rome. Among these were the epic poets Vergil and Varius, who favoured their young companion with an introduction to one to whom he afterwards addressed these graceful lines of dedication:

> Mæcenas atavis edite regibus,
> o et præsidium et dulce decus meum:
>
> . . . . .
>
> me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
> dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus

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Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
secernunt populo, si neque tibias 250
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,
sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

Odes, I, i. 1–2, 29–36.

From Horace's own account of his introduction to Mæcenas, it is clear that the statesman had at first some doubt as to admitting into his own circle and that of his chief a man who had fought against them in the open field. At any rate, he put Horace on probation, and only after an interval of nine months did he formally acknowledge the tie of friendship. In a satire addressed to his patron the poet thus tells the story of the first two interviews between them :

Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
nunc quia sim tibi, Mæcenas, convictor, at olim
quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.
dissimile hoc illi est, quia non, ut forsit honorem
iure mihi invideat quivis, ita te quoque amicum,
præsertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava 261
ambitione procul. felicem dicere non hoc
me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum :
nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit ; optimus olim
Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem.
ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus—
infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari—
non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
me Satureiano vectari rura caballo, 269
sed quod eram narro. respondes, ut tuus est mos,

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pauca : abeo, et revocas nono post mense iubesque esse in amicorum numero. magnum hoc ego duco, quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum.

Sat. I, vi. 45–63.

The beginning of this intimacy between Mæcenas and Horace may be dated from the summer of 38 B.C., the year in which their friend Vergil published the "Eclogues."

Although the writers of the Augustan age found a considerable market for their wares, they depended chiefly, like their successors in our own country in the eighteenth century, upon the generosity of wealthy men. Mæcenas is one of the earliest and most famous of the patrons of literature. As we have already pointed out, the poet and his new friend happened to be born in the same year. It appears that from their boyhood Mæcenas and Agrippa had been companions of the heir of Julius Cæsar, and they were actually spending the winter with him at Apollonia when the murder of the Dictator forced Octavianus to take up the great work of his life. In every sphere of action, from the direction of a nation's affairs to the management of the humblest business, fair-minded leaders who have attained success readily acknowledge that much of it is due to good fortune in their choice of subordinates. To such a fortunate choice Octavianus might well have attributed a great deal of the prosperity which crowned his efforts. Among the many who assisted him in consolidating the Empire of Rome his early companions take the foremost

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place. In military and civil affairs respectively Agrippa and Mæcenas became Cæsar's most zealous and trusted partisans. They were both wonderfully gifted by nature, and the great wealth which they acquired gave them a standing in Rome second only to that of the Emperor himself. On a part of the Esquiline which before had been waste ground Mæcenas built for himself a magnificent palace and laid out public gardens which became proverbial for their splendour. Although he chose never to rise above the rank of his birth, Horace's "dear knight Mæcenas" often acted as *locum tenens* for the Emperor, and was even entrusted with the private seal, as well as power to suppress or alter, as he thought fit, any communication to be laid before the Roman Senate. But it was not only in public affairs that he tried to advance the policy of his master; his home on the Esquiline became the *rendezvous* of the best men in art and literature at that time, and these he inspired to spread the praises of the Emperor and his beneficent *régime*. Like his friends Octavianus and Horace, between whom he formed the connecting link, Mæcenas never enjoyed the best of health; during his later years he was a martyr to insomnia, which no doubt accounts for his withdrawal from public life about 15 B.C. The patron of Horace, Vergil, and Propertius was himself a dabbler in literature, and the following poem from his pen was severely criticized by the Stoic Seneca because of the unmanly spirit of the writer in clinging to

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life when all that made life worth living had been taken away :

> Debilem facito manu,
> debilem pede, coxa ;
> tuber adstrue gibberum,
> lubricos quate dentes ;
> vita dum superest, bene est !
> hanc mihi, vel acuta
> si sedeam cruce, sustine. 280

Quoted in Seneca, Ep. CI, 11.

From the time of Horace's admission to the circle of Mæcenas his position was assured. The tie between the two men, however, in no way resembled the usual relationship of this kind. The poet was too manly and independent by nature to play the sycophant to any man, and Mæcenas showed his good sense by never putting on airs when dealing with the gifted "son of a freedman father." They always met or communicated with each other on terms of perfect equality, and the real affection that existed between them is repeatedly attested in the writings of Horace. The works formally dedicated by the poet to his patron are the Satires, the Odes, I–III, and the first book of the Epistles.

VIII

IN 38 B.C. the five years' Triumvirate came to an end, and a renewal of terms, at least between Cæsar and Antony, was again necessary ; the part played by Lepidus all along in the coalition is quite overshadowed by

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the doings of his colleagues. On the side of Cæsar the arrangements for a new conference in the year 37 were carried out, as before, by Mæcenas and Cocceius Nerva. The task before them was a difficult one, for Antony had become alarmed at Cæsar's growing influence in Italy and was lying off Brundisium with a fleet of 300 ships. A breach with Cæsar would possibly be followed by a union between Antony and Sextus Pompeius, and already the latter was proving himself more than a match for Agrippa. In these circumstances the negotiations necessitated secrecy and care, and it was surely a great compliment that Mæcenas paid to Vergil and Horace when he invited them to join him on his journey to the south. The travellers kept for the most part to the famous Via Appia, and covered on the average twenty-four miles per day during their fifteen days' journey. A vivid description of this "iter ad Brundisium" is given by Horace in one of his Satires, which is well worth reading not only for its geographical interest, but also for its humour and the light it throws upon wayfaring in ancient times.

Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma
hospitio modico ; rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Græcorum longe doctissimus ; inde Forum Appi,
differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis.
hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
præcinctis unum ; minus est gravis Appia tardis.
hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri
indico bellum, cenantes haud animo æquo
exspectans comites. iam nox inducere terris

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umbras et cælo diffundere signa parabat ; 290
tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautæ
ingerere : " huc appelle ! " " trecentos inseris."
" ohe
iam satis est." dum æs exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
tota abit hora. mali culices ranæque palustres
avertunt somnos, absentem ut cantat amicam
multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator
certatim : tandem fessus dormire viator
incipit, ac missæ pastum retinacula mulæ
nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem 300
sentimus ; donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
ac mulæ nautæque caput lumbosque saligno
fuste dolat. quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.
milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus
impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
huc venturus erat Mæcenas optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.
hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus 310
inlinere : interea Mæcenas advenit atque
Cocceius, Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
factus homo, Antoni non ut magis alter amicus.
Fundos Aufidio Lusco prætore libenter
linquimus, insani ridentes præmia scribæ,
prætextam et latum clavum prunæque vatillum.
in Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,
Murena præbente domum, Capitone culinam.
postera lux oritur multo gratissima ; namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ Vergiliusque 320
occurrunt, animæ, quales neque candidiores
terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter.
o qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt !

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nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.
proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, tectum
præbuit, et parochi, quæ debent, ligna salemque.
hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.
lusum it Mæcenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque ;
namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.
hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa, 330
quæ super est Caudi cauponas. nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurræ pugnam Messique Cicirri,
Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque
contulerit lites. Messi clarum genus Osci ;
Sarmenti domina exstat : ab his maioribus orti
ad pugnam venere. prior Sarmentus "equi te
esse feri similem dico." ridemus, et ipse
Messius "accipio," caput et movet. "o tua cornu
ni foret exsecto frons" inquit "quid faceres, cum
sic mutilus minitaris ?" at illi fœda cicatrix 340
sætosam lævi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,
pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat :
nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
multa Cicirrus ad hæc : donasset iamne catenam
ex voto Laribus, quærebat : scriba quod esset,
nilo deterius dominæ ius esse : rogabat
denique cur unquam fugisset, cui satis una
farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.
prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam. 350
tendimus hinc recta Beneventum, ubi sedulus hospes
pæne macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni ;
nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
Vulcano summum properabat lambere tectum.
convivas avidos cenam servosque timentes
tum rapere atque omnes restinguere velle videres.
incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos
ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos

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nunquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
villa recepisset lacrimoso non sine fumo, 360
udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.
quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia redis
mansuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est,
signis perfacile est : venit vilissima rerum
hic aqua, sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator ;
nam Canusi lapidosus, aquæ non ditior urna
qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
flentibus hinc Varius discedit mæstus amicis.
inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum 370
carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.
postera tempestas melior, via peior ad usque
Bari mœnia piscosi. dein Gnatia lymphis
iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,
dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro
persuadere cupit. credat Iudæus Apella,
non ego. namque deos didici securum agere ævum,
nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
tristes ex alto cæli demittere tecto.
Brundisium longæ finis chartæque viæque est. 380

Sat. I, v.

With the exception of the phrase "aversos soliti componere amicos," there is no reference throughout the poem to the object of the journey. In his year of intercourse with Horace, Mæcenas had evidently found caution to be a prominent trait in the character of his friend.[1] The envoys, it may be added, duly accomplished the object for which they had set out: on the river Taras, near Tarentum, the Triumvirs met, and formally renewed their agreement for another *lustrum*.

[1] This trait is further brought out in Sat II vi See Appendix p.140.

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Cæsar guaranteed to raise 20,000 men to send to Antony, in return for which the latter lent him 120 ships to aid Agrippa in the protracted war against Pompeius. The hopes and fears of this period are reflected in the following ode of Horace "Ad Cæsarem":

Iam satis terris nivis atque diræ
grandinis misit Pater et rubente
dextera sacras iaculatus arces
terruit urbem,
terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
sæculum Pyrrhæ nova monstra questæ,
omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
visere montes,
piscium et summa genus hæsit ulmo,
nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis, 390
et superiecto pavidæ natarunt
æquore dammæ.
vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
litore Etrusco violenter undis
ire deiectum monumenta regis
templaque Vestæ,
Iliæ dum se nimium querenti
iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
labitur ripa Iove non probante u-
xorius amnis. 400
audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
quo graves Persæ melius perirent,
audiet pugnas vitio parentum
rara iuventus.
quem vocet divom populus ruentis
imperi rebus? prece qua fatigent
virgines sanctæ minus audientem
carmina Vestam?

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cui dabit partes scelus expiandi
Iuppiter ? tandem venias precamur 410
nube candentes umeros amictus,
augur Apollo ;
sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido ;
sive neglectum genus et nepotes
respicis auctor,
heu nimis longo satiate ludo,
quem iuvat clamor galeæque leves
acer et Mauri peditis cruentum
vultus in hostem ; 420
sive mutata iuvenem figura
ales in terris imitaris, almæ
filius Maiæ, patiens vocari
Cæsaris ultor :
serus in cælum redeas diuque
lætus intersis populo Quirini,
neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
ocior aura
tollat ; hic magnos potius triumphos,
hic ames dici pater atque princeps, 430
neu sinas Medos equitare inultos
te duce, Cæsar.

Odes, I, ii.

Although his fleets suffered severely in battle and storm, Agrippa stuck to his task with the pertinacity characteristic of his race. To protect his ships from the violence of the weather, he constructed for them a safe anchorage, called the "Portus Julius," by connecting Lake Avernus, the Lucrine Lake, and the outer sea : this was done apparently before that winter to which Horace refers as " breaking the

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power of the Tyrrhenian Sea on the frail stones set now against it'':

> Quæ nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare Tyrrhenum.
>
> Odes, I, xi. 5-6.

In the year following the meeting at Tarentum the final struggle was waged against the "son of Neptune," as Pompeius now styled himself, and Agrippa's persistence at length met with the success it deserved. The fleet of Pompeius was annihilated off Mylæ. Pompeius himself escaped to Asia, but was there captured and put to death, and so ended the strange career of this Roman Ishmael, the son of Pompey the Great. After the flight of their leader some of the land forces of Pompeius had joined Lepidus, but Cæsar, with his usual adroitness, tampered with their loyalty, won them over to his own side, and at last compelled his untrustworthy colleague to abdicate and go into complete retirement. To this time we may assign Horace's ode to the victorious admiral, in which the poet skilfully compliments three of his friends, while modestly acknowledging his own inability to write an epic poem.

> Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium
> victor, Mæon i carminis alite,
> quam rem cunque ferox navibus aut equis
> miles te duce gesserit.
> nos, Agrippa, neque hæc dicere nec gravem
> Pelidæ stomachum cedere nescii 440
> nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulixei
> nec sævam Pelopis domum

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conamur tenues grandia, dum pudor
imbellisque lyræ Musa potens vetat
laudes egregii Cæsaris et tuas
  culpa deterere ingeni.
quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
digne scripserit aut pulvere Troico
nigrum Merionen aut ope Palladis
  Tydiden superis parem ? 450
nos convivia, nos prœlia virginum
sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium
cantamus, vacui, sive quid urimur,
  non præter solitum leves.

Odes, I, vi.

The following ode of thanksgiving for the achievements of Cæsar also belongs to this period. In it we get a foretaste of Horace the courtier-poet placing his master's services to the State on a level with those of the gods and heroes of old.

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
tibia sumis celebrare, Clio,
quem deum ? cuius recinet iocosa
  nomen imago
aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
aut super Pindo gelidove in Hæmo ? 460
unde vocalem temere insecutæ
  Orphea silvæ
arte materna rapidos morantem
fluminum lapsus celeresque ventos,
blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
  ducere quercus.
quid prius dicam solitis parentis
laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum,
qui mare et terras variisque mundum
  temperat horis : 470

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unde nil maius generatur ipso,
nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum ?
proximos illi tamen occupavit
  Pallas honores,
prœliis audax ; neque te silebo,
Liber, et sævis inimica virgo
beluis, nec te, metuende certa
  Phœbe sagitta.
dicam et Alciden puerosque Ledæ,
hunc equis, illum superare pugnis 480
nobilem ; quorum simul alba nautis
  stella refulsit,
defluit saxis agitatus umor,
concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes
et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto
  unda recumbit.
Romulum post hos prius an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem an superbos
Tarquini fasces, dubito, an Catonis
  nobile letum. 490
Regulum et Scauros animæque magnæ
prodigum Paulum superante Pœno
gratus insigni referam Camena
  Fabriciumque.
hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
utilem bello tulit et Camillum
sæva paupertas et avitus apto
  cum Lare fundus.
crescit occulto velut arbor ævo
fama Marcelli ; micat inter omnes 500
Iulium sidus velut inter ignes
  luna minores.
gentis humanæ pater atque custos,
orte Saturno, tibi cura magni

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Cæsaris fatis data : tu secundo
  Cæsare regnes.
ille seu Parthos Latio imminentes
egerit iusto domitos triumpho,
sive subiectos orientis oræ
  Seras et Indos,
te minor latum reget æquus orbem ;
tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,
tu parum castis inimica mittes
  fulmina lucis.

Odes, I, xii.

IX

IN the lull between the defeat of Pompeius and the final struggle with Antony, Cæsar and his generals took the opportunity of bringing into subjection some of the disorderly frontier tribes, especially in Dalmatia and Illyricum.

At the beginning of this period Horace ventured to allow the first of his works "to sally forth, decked with the smoothing pumice of the Sosii." This was the first book of the Satires, so called—a selection of ten pieces in which he attempts "claudere verba Lucili ritu." It is quite in accordance with the practical character of the Roman people that their only invention in literary form is the kind of verse with which we have now to deal. To Greece they were indebted for the epic, the lyric, and the drama, but the satire was of purely Roman growth. The very name is a homely one ; the *satura*, or *satura lanx*, to be explicit, was that "full dish" of vegetables and oil, that "hodge-podge"

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which has not yet ceased to be a favourite dish in rustic Italy. Applied to literature, the term aptly describes the mixture of prose and uncouth verse in which Lucilius (180–103 B.C.) and his predecessors gave expression to their thoughts on the life and work of those around them. Such a medley, we know, appeared crude to Horace, trained as he had been in the pure literature of Greece, and he himself suggests that had Lucilius lived he would have expunged or altered much that he had written.

> Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
> comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem,
> quam rudis et Græcis intacti carminis auctor
> quamque poetarum seniorum turba ; sed ille,
> si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in ævum,
> detereret sibi multa recideret omne quod ultra 520
> pertectum traheretur et in versu faciendo
> sæpe caput scaberet, vivos et roderet ungues.
>
> Sat. I, x. 64–71.

With regard to subject-matter, Horace, in a later work, laid down the rule that "the first principle and the source of good writing is wisdom"—

> Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons
>
> De Arte Poet. 309.

—but in the meantime he was dealing only with poetical form, and this too he would have writers bring as near to perfection as possible.

> Sæpe stilum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi sint,
> scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,
> contentus paucis lectoribus.
>
> Sat. I, x. 72–74.

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In this first book of his Horace was merely experimenting in rhythmical prose. As yet he excludes himself from the class of people called "poets," and gives his own opinion of the proper application of the title :

> Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetis,
> excerpam numero : neque enim concludere versum
> dixeris esse satis ; neque, si qui scribat uti nos
> sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam. 530
> ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os
> magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.
>
> Sat. I, iv. 39-44.

The satire is still regarded as being on the border-line of the poetic realm, but the term has come to convey to the modern mind an idea of sarcastic or hostile comment. Into the Satires of Horace sarcasm does find its way, but on the whole his pieces are rather didactic or descriptive, written in an easy conversational style, and now and again tending to become rather flat, or even vulgar. Between the publication of these Satires and that of the Odes, with their finished workmanship, Horace was to have ample practice in "turning the stilus." Already, however, the spirit which inspired the famous "Odi profanum volgus et arceo" finds expression. It is not the grub-worm, Pantilius, or the vain actor, Hermogenes, that our poet desires to please, but the friends whose names he now records in an appeal for their commendation :

> Plotius et Varius, Mæcenas Vergiliusque,
> Valgius et probet hæc Octavius optimus atque

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Fuscus et hæc utinam Viscorum laudet uterque !
ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque
vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,
complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
prudens prætereo ; quibus hæc, sint qualiacunque,
adridere velim, doliturus, si placeant spe 541
deterius nostra.

Sat. I, x. 81–90.

X

TO number so many distinguished men among his friends, Horace assuredly had advanced far from the status of the beaten soldier who had returned from Philippi "with pinions clipped and all his property gone." But in reality the popularity of the poet is not difficult to account for. We have already noted the character of the elder Horace, his manly independence, his shrewd common sense, his keen though kindly humour, and above all his deep love for his son. A receptive nature like that of the poet could not help being influenced by such a father, especially when we remember that the two were close companions in the boy's most impressionable years. In fact, one is inclined to picture Horace in his *toga prætexta* as an "old-fashioned" youth—a reflex of the paternal moralist who was doing so much for him. But our poet was one whose genius would more readily reach maturity under the sun of kindly appreciation than in the gloom of adversity, and although the

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bent inherited from his father would be strengthened and improved by the splendid training he received at Rome and Athens, his development must have been somewhat thwarted by the years of obscurity that followed Philippi. It readily resumed its natural course, however, under the ripening influence of increasing prosperity. In the circle of Mæcenas Horace had found the friendship and encouragement which his nature craved. Friendship was to him a sacred thing :

> Nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.
>
> Sat. I, v. 44.

Treachery to friends, or backbiting, he abhors :

> Absentem qui rodit amicum,
> qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
> qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
> fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
> qui nequit, hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.
>
> Ibid. I, iv. 81–85.

In one respect at least Horace was not unlike Tennyson's poet,

> Dower'd with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,
> The love of love.

> Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis ! at ille
> qui me commorit—melius non tangere, clamo—
> flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe. 551
>
> Ibid. II, i. 44–46.

But though thus ready to pillory a foe the poet was always charitable in judging a friend. A man of the world himself, and endowed with

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a rare insight into human nature, he felt his own weaknesses, and was consequently lenient with the failings of others. He was a thorough believer in the doctrine that "a friend should bear his friend's infirmities," and repeatedly asserts the necessity of mutual forbearance.

Illuc prævertamur, amatorem quod amicæ
turpia decipiunt cæcum vitia, aut etiam ipsa hæc
delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnæ.
vellem in amicitia sic erraremus et isti
errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum :
at pater ut nati sic nos debemus amici
si quod sit vitium non fastidire : strabonem
appellat pætum pater, et pullum, male parvus
si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim 560
Sisyphus ; hunc varum distortis cruribus, illum
balbutit scaurum pravis fultum male talis.
parcius hic vivit : frugi dicatur. ineptus
et iactantior hic paulo est : concinnus amicis
postulat ut videatur. at est truculentior atque
plus æquo liber : simplex fortisque habeatur.
caldior est : acres inter numeretur. opinor,
hæc res et iungit, iunctos et servat amicos.

Sat. I, iii. 38–54.

Another feature in Horace's character was an utter absence of self-seeking or ambition, all the more remarkable as it was rare in men of his time. Contentment with one's lot in life had been among the teachings of his father, and deep was the impression it made upon the mind of the son. To men like Cæsar and Mæcenas, as well as their many subordinates, engaged in building up a great empire, and at the same

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time in accumulating riches for themselves, it must have been delightful to share the friendship of one who had risen superior to the lure of wealth or position. Not for the riches of Arabia would Horace change his liberty and ease (Epist. I, vii. 36); never would he disown friend or parent, or choose—if nature should offer him the choice—to belong to a family of wealth and pedigree. True to his father's training in prudence and content, the poet throughout all his life did not once allow himself to lapse into covetous desires. The acquisition of riches, he argued, would ill befit a man of sense, and would only bring with it irksome burdens.

Nam si natura iuberet
a certis annis ævum remeare peractum, 570
atque alios legere, ad fastum quoscunque parentes
optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos
fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
iudicio vulgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
nollem onus haud unquam solitus portare molestum.
nam mihi continuo maior quærenda foret res
atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus
et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve
exirem, plures calones atque caballi
pascendi, ducenda petorrita. nunc mihi curto 580
ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum,
mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos:
obiciet nemo sordes mihi quas tibi, Tilli,
cum Tiburte via prætorem quinque sequuntur
te pueri lasanum portantes œnophorumque.
hoc ego commodius quam tu, præclare senator,
milibus atque aliis vivo.

Sat. I, vi. 93–111.

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Here the poet goes on to contrast with a rich man's lot his own state of perfect freedom, and incidentally to give us a delightful description of a day in the life of a man of letters, 35 B.C.

Quacunque libido est,
incedo solus, percontor quanti holus ac far,
fallacem circum vespertinumque pererro 590
sæpe forum, adsisto divinis. inde domum me
ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum ;
cena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus
pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet, adstat echinus
vilis, cum patera gutus, Campana supellex.
deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus, mihi quod cras
surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se
vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
ad quartam iaceo ; post hanc vagor, aut ego, lecto
aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet, unguor olivo,
non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis. 601
ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
admonuit, fugio campum lusumque trigonem.
pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani
ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. hæc est
vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique ;
his me consolor victurum suavius, ac si
quæstor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuissent.

Sat. I, vi. 111–131.

"Lying in bed till ten ! Lounging through the greater part of the day ! What a lazy life !" one may be inclined to exclaim. Such, too, was the opinion, no doubt, of some of Horace's contemporaries, as they—busy folk !—watched him in his apparently aimless rambles. But if Horace was accounted a lounger, he joins an

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excellent company, for the accusation has been made against many a thinker and writer from the time of Socrates onward. The truth, however, is that in the case of many literary men apparent listlessness often hides great mental activity. For this view we find some support in the opening couplet of the satire which we shall now quote, Horace's inimitable poem on "The Bore."

Ibam forte via Sacra, *sicut meus est mos,*
nescio quid meditans nugarum ; totus in illis. 610
accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
arreptaque manu "quid agis, dulcissime rerum ?"
"suaviter, ut nunc est," inquam, "et cupio omnia quæ vis."
cum adsectaretur, "numquid vis ?" occupo. at ille
"noris nos," inquit ; "docti sumus." hic ego "pluris
hoc," inquam, "mihi eris." misere discedere quærens,
ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos
manaret talos. "o te, Bolane, cerebri
felicem," aiebam tacitus, cum quidlibet ille 620
garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. ut illi
nil respondebam, "misere cupis," inquit, "abire :
iamdudum video : sed nil agis ; usque tenebo,
persequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi." "nil opus est te
circumagi : quemdam volo visere non tibi notum ;
trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Cæsaris hortos."
"nil habeo quod agam et non sum piger ; usque sequar te."
demitto auriculas ut iniquæ mentis asellus,

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cum gravius dorso subiit onus. incipit ille :
" si bene me novi, non Viscum pluris amicum, 630
non Varium facies : nam quis me scribere plures
aut citius possit versus ? quis membra movere
mollius ? invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto."
interpellandi locus hic erat : " est tibi mater,
cognati, quis te salvo est opus ? " " haud mihi quisquam.
omnes composui." " felices ! nunc ego resto.
confice : namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella
quod puero cecinit mota divina anus urna :
' hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis
nec laterum dolor aut tussis nec tarda podagra : 640
garrulus hunc quando consumet cunque : loquaces,
si sapiat, vitet simul atque adoleverit aetas.' "
ventum erat ad Vestæ, quarta iam parte diei
præterita, et casu tum respondere vadato
debebat ; quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.
" si me amas," inquit, " paulum hic ades." " interream, si
aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura ;
et propero quo scis." " dubius sum quid faciam," inquit,
" tene relinquam an rem." " me, sodes." " non faciam " ille,
et præcedere cœpit. ego, ut contendere durum 650
cum victore, sequor. " Mæcenas quomodo tecum ? "
hinc repetit. " paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanæ.
nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. haberes
magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
hunc hominem velles si tradere. dispeream, ni
summosses omnes." " non isto vivimus illic
quo tu rere modo : domus hac nec purior ulla est

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nec magis his aliena malis ; nil mi officit, inquam,
ditior hic aut est quia doctior ; est locus uni
cuique suus." "magnum narras, vix credibile."
"atqui 660
sic habet." "accendis quare cupiam magis illi
proximus esse." "velis tantummodo : quæ tua
virtus,
expugnabis ; et est qui vinci possit, eoque
difficiles aditus primos habet." "haud mihi deero :
muneribus servos corrumpam ; non, hodie si
exclusus fuero, desistam ; tempora quæram ;
occurram in triviis, deducam. nil sine magno
vita labore dedit mortalibus." hæc dum agit, ecce
Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum 669
qui pulchre nosset. consistimus. "unde venis ?" et
"quo tendis ?" rogat et respondet. vellere cœpi
et prensare manu lentissima bracchia, nutans,
distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. male salsus
ridens dissimulare ; meum iecur urere bilis.
"certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
aiebas mecum." "memini bene, sed meliore
tempore dicam : hodie tricensima sabbata. vin tu
curtis Iudæis oppedere ?" "nulla mihi," inquam,
"religio est." "at mi : sum paulo infirmior, unus 679
multorum. ignosces ; alias loquar." huncine solem
tam nigrum surrexe mihi ! fugit improbus ac me
sub cultro linquit. casu venit obvius illi
adversarius et "quo tu turpissime ?" magna
inclamat voce, et "licet antestari ?" ego vero
oppono auriculam. rapit in ius : clamor utrimque,
undique concursus. sic me servavit Apollo.

Sat. I, ix.

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XI

ABOUT a year after the publication of the first book of his Satires the poet received from Mæcenas a gift which proved to him a source of continual delight. This was a little estate among the Sabine Hills. The Via Valeria, which ran across country to Corfinium and the Adriatic, reached Tibur, about sixteen miles from Rome, by penetrating the valley of the Anio ; eight miles farther on, in the heart of the Sabine highlands, stood Varia, the little country town to which the poet's tenants (*quinque boni patres*) used to resort on market-days, and near which the Anio received the waters of the mountain-stream Digentia. At the head-waters of this tributary, in the Vale of Ustica, under the shadow of Mount Lucretilis, lay the rustic paradise in which Horace was to spend so many golden hours. The possession of a country home like that of his childhood had been a cherished wish of the poet, and having obtained it he was well content.

Hoc erat in votis : modus agri non ita magnus,
hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquæ fons
et paulum silvæ super his foret. auctius atque
di melius fecere. bene est. nil amplius oro, 690
Maia nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis.
si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem,
nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem ;
si veneror stultus nihil horum : "o si angulus ille
proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum !

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o si urnam argenti fors quæ mihi monstret, ut illi,
thesauro invento qui mercennarius agrum
illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule ! " si, quod adest, gratum iuvat, hac prece te oro :
pingue pecus domino facias et cetera præter 700
ingenium, utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis.
ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,
quid prius inlustrem saturis Musaque pedestri ?
nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
Autumnusque gravis, Libitinæ quæstus acerbæ.

Sat. II, vi. 1–19.

To Horace, indeed, the gift was a perfect one. Not only did the estate make him independent for life, but it satisfied his unchanging love of nature and afforded a welcome retreat from the distractions of city life or the dangers of an autumn in town. On the other hand, as it was situated less than thirty miles from Rome, Horace, when he felt inclined for company, could reach the capital in one or two easy stages, even with no better means of transit than his ambling, "bob-tailed mule." Henceforward the poet spent a great part of the year at his "castle in the hills," or at the Tiburtine villa which he subsequently acquired. In later life he was compelled for his health's sake to seek in winter the milder climate of Præneste or of Baiæ—"nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amœnis" (Epist. I, i. 83)—but the autumn at least, the season of the sirocco, would find him "restored to himself" by the bracing air of the Sabine farm. The appearance and advantages

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of the poet's new home are thus summarized in an epistle to one of his friends :

Ne perconteris, fundus meus, optime Quincti,
arvo pascat erum an bacis opulentet olivæ,
pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo :
scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.
continui montes ni dissocientur opaca 710
valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol,
lævum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.
temperiem laudes. quid, si rubicunda benigni
corna vepres et pruna ferant, si quercus et ilex
multa fruge pecus, multa dominum iuvet umbra ?
dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus,
infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
hæ latebræ dulces, etiam, si credis, amœnæ, 720
incolumem tibi me præstant Septembribus horis.

Epist. I, xvi. 1–16.

The spring here referred to, "with waters cool and pure as the Thracian Hebrus," was probably the one to which Horace gave the name of a fountain near his native town, and which he afterwards celebrated in an exquisite little poem :

O fons Bandusiæ splendidior vitro,
dulci digne mero non sine floribus,
cras donaberis hædo,
cui frons turgida cornibus
primis et venerem et prœlia destinat;
frustra : nam gelidos inficiet tibi
rubro sanguine rivos
lascivi suboles gregis.

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te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculæ 730
nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile
fessis vomere tauris
præbes et pecori vago.
fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
saxis, unde loquaces
lymphæ desiliunt tuæ.

Odes, III, xiii.

With few exceptions the poet's recollections of the Sabine country are full of happiness. He refers with mixed feelings, however, to one incident—his narrow escape from being crushed to death by a falling tree. The semi-tragic ode, II, xiii., is addressed to this tree (the *devota arbos* of line 134), while in still another poem Horace ascribes his safety to the direct intervention of the god of Arcady :

Me truncus illapsus cerebro
sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
dextra levasset. 740

Ibid. II, xvii. 27–29.

XII

FROM the Sabine farm we find many odes of invitation addressed by Horace to personages, real and fictitious. To no other, naturally, was his greeting more hearty than to his generous patron. Here is a little ode sent by the poet to Mæcenas when the latter was recovering from a dangerous attack of fever :

Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
cantharis, Græca quod ego ipse testa

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conditum levi, datus in theatro
  cum tibi plausus,
care Mæcenas eques, ut paterni
fluminis ripæ simul et iocosa
redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
  montis imago.
Cæcubum et prelo domitam Caleno
invides uvam : mea nec Falernæ 750
t mperant vites neque Formiani
  pocula colles.

Odes, I, xx.

A longer invitation to his patron in summer has already become familiar to English readers through Dryden's fine paraphrase of it. In this poem Horace, after a beautiful description of natural scenery, passes on to preach his usual doctrine of fortitude and content, and to warn Mæcenas not to be over-anxious about a future that he may never see.

Around the future Jove has cast
  A veil like night ; he gives us power
To see the present and the past,
  But kindly hides the future hour,
And smiles when man with daring eye
Would pierce that dread futurity.[1]

AD MÆCENATEM

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi
non ante verso lene merum cado
  cum flore, Mæcenas, rosarum et
    pressa tuis balanus capillis

[1] Sir Stephen E. de Vere's translation.

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iam dudum apud me est : eripe te moræ,
ne semper udum Tibur et Æfulæ
declive contempleris arvum et
Telegoni iuga parricidæ. 760
fastidiosam desere copiam et
molem propinquam nubibus arduis ;
omitte mirari beatæ
fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ.
plerumque gratæ divitibus vices
mundæque parvo sub Lare pauperum
cenæ sine aulæis et ostro
sollicitam explicuere frontem.
iam clarus occultum Andromedæ pater
ostendit ignem, iam Procyon furit 770
et stella vesani Leonis,
sole dies referente siccos ;
iam pastor umbras cum grege languido
rivumque fessus quærit et horridi
dumeta Silvani caretque
ripa vagis taciturna ventis.
tu civitatem quis deceat status
curas et urbi sollicitus times
quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors. 780
prudens futuri temporis exitum
caliginosa nocte premit deus
ridetque, si mortalis ultra
fas trepidat. quod adest memento
componere æquus ; cetera fluminis
ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
cum pace delabentis Etruscum
in mare, nunc lapides adesos
stirpesque raptas et pecus et domos
volventis una, non sine montium 790

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clamore vicinæque silvæ,
cum fera diluvies quietos
inritat amnes. ille potens sui
lætusque deget, cui licet in diem
dixisse "vixi : cras vel atra
nube polum Pater occupato,
vel sole puro ; non tamen inritum,
quodcumque retro est, efficiet neque
diffinget infectumque reddet
quod fugiens semel hora vexit." 800
Fortuna sævo læta negotio et
ludum insolentem ludere pertinax
transmutat incertos honores,
nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
laudo manentem ; si celeres quatit
pinnas, resigno quæ dedit et mea
virtute me involvo probamque
pauperiem sine dote quæro.
non est meum, si mugiat Africis
malus procellis, ad miseras preces 810
decurrere et votis pacisci,
ne Cypriæ Tyriæque merces
addant avaro divitias mari :
tunc me biremis præsidio scaphæ
tutum per Ægæos tumultus
aura feret geminusque Pollux.

Odes, III, xxix.

To another of his friends, the grammarian Aristius Fuscus, who, it will be remembered, had shamelessly left him at the mercy of the bore, Horace addressed one of the most frequently quoted of all his poems—the famous ode in which he claims the special protection of the

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gods for those who, like himself, are "upright in life and free from sin."

Integer vitæ scelerisque purus
non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
  Fusce, pharetra, 820
sive per Syrtes iter æstuosas,
sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum vel quæ loca fabulosus
  lambit Hydaspes.
namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
terminum curis vagor expeditis,
  fugit inermem.
quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias latis alit æsculetis, 830
nec Iubæ tellus generat, leonum
  arida nutrix.
pone me, pigris ubi nulla campis
arbor æstiva recreatur aura,
quod latus mundi nebulæ malusque
  Iuppiter urguet ;
pone sub curru nimium propinqui
solis in terra domibus negata :
dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
  dulce loquentem. 840

Odes, I, xxii.

We may take it for granted that Horace had never forgotten the hardy peasantry of Apulia among whom his childhood had been spent. On his Sabine estate now he renewed his acquaintance with the class whose practical

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virtues have been so well described by his friend Vergil.

Durum ab stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
deferimus sævoque gelu duramus et undis ;
venatu invigilant pueri silvasque fatigant ;
flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu.
at patiens operum parvoque adsueta iuventus
aut rastris terram domat aut quatit oppida bello.
omne ævum ferro teritur, versaque iuvencum
terga fatigamus hasta ; nec tarda senectus
debilitat vires animi mutatque vigorem :
canitiem galea premimus, semperque recentis 850
comportare iuvat prædas et vivere rapto.

Æn. IX, 603-613.

Horace, too, as we shall see, had noted well the simple virtues of the poor—their hardihood, their thrift, their industry, and their self-denial —and these in many an ode he sets in strong contrast to the foolish luxury of the capital. In the following address to the thrifty housewife, Phidyle, the poet inculcates, in his own way, the lesson of " the widow's mite " :

Cælo supinas si tuleris manus
nascente luna, rustica Phidyle,
si ture placaris et horna
fruge Lares avidaque porca,
nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges
robiginem aut dulces alumni
pomifero grave tempus anno.
nam quæ nivali pascitur Algido 860
devota quercus inter et ilices
aut crescit Albanis in herbis
victima, pontificum secures

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cervice tinguet : te nihil attinet
temptare multa cæde bidentium
parvos coronantem marino
rore deos fragilique myrto.
immunis aram si tetigit manus
non sumptuosa blandior hostia,
mollivit aversos Penates
farre pio et saliente mica.

Odes, III, xxiii.

But much as we should like to dwell with Horace in his rural home, we must emerge with him among those whom

The camp delights, and bugle-call
With clarion mingling, and the brawl
Of fight by matrons hated.[1]

XIII

AFTER the removal of Lepidus from power in 36 B.C. Cæsar had taken over the whole management of the Western Empire. His victory over Pompeius and his successful frontier wars had raised his prestige and secured for him the good-will of every peace-loving Roman. Torn as she had been by years of civil strife, Italy now rejoiced to find her prosperity returning under the fostering influence of law and order, and the heart of her people went out in gratitude to the man whose courage

[1] Castra iuvant et lituo tubæ
permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
detestata.

Odes, I, i. 23-25.

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and perseverance had wrought this welcome change. But even the Italians, despite their security, must have looked forward with gloomy forebodings to the possible return of that other ruler whose unscrupulous conduct had already brought much misery upon them. Cæsar, too, with his usual clearness of vision, must have begun to see that with himself now lay the solution of the problem of government not only of Italy but of the whole Empire. In the long years of senatorial misgovernment men had lost sight of the old Roman ideas of discipline and duty to the State, and it was to be Cæsar's work henceforth to secure the loyalty of all good citizens to himself and his rule, to subordinate his own interests to those of the State, to identify himself with all measures for her welfare, and so to revive among the Roman people a belief in justice, in progress, and in a wider patriotism than they had hitherto known. As long, however, as the Empire was divided against itself Cæsar knew that the realization of his hopes was altogether impossible, and one cannot help thinking that in the end he even welcomed a rupture with his colleague. To the beneficent rule of Cæsar in Italy the negligence of Antony in the East formed a striking contrast. The latter had now deserted Octavia, and, to the disgust of his countrymen, was living among "the wrinkled eunuchs of Cleopatra, a voluntary slave to a woman." In public affairs Antony's spasmodic attempts at establishing the rule of Rome met with nothing but failure, while his

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unsuccessful campaigns against the Parthians lowered him still farther in the estimation of his countrymen. As the last year of the renewed Triumvirate, 33 B.C., drew to a close the tension was acutely felt, especially at the court of Cæsar; and Horace, in the fine allegorical poem "Ad Rempublicam," gives expression to the fears of renewed civil war prevalent at the time: [1]

O navis, referent in mare te novi
fluctus! o quid agis? fortiter occupa
portum! nonne vides ut
nudum remigio latus,
et malus celeri saucius Africo
antennæque gemant, ac sine funibus
vix durare carinæ
possint imperiosius
æquor? non tibi sunt integra lintea, 880
non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo;
quamvis Pontica pinus,
silvæ filia nobilis,
iactes et genus et nomen inutile;
nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
fidit. tu nisi ventis
debes ludibrium, cave.
nuper sollicitum quæ mihi tædium,
nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
interfusa nitentes 890
vites æquora Cycladas.

Odes, I, xiv.

The resentment of Cæsar's party and of all loyal Romans against Antony was augmented when news arrived of his latest marks of subservience to Cleopatra. To their three children he had

[1] The date of this poem, however, has been much disputed.

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assigned kingdoms in Libya and the East; to Cleopatra he had publicly given the high-sounding title of "Queen of Kings"; and it really appeared to the indignant Romans that the Triumvir, in his infatuation, was ready to hand over the Empire itself to the ambitious princess. A decree of the Senate was immediately passed depriving Antony of his command—which in reality had already lapsed—and declaring war upon Cleopatra. In the fighting which ensued vast forces were engaged on both sides, but the superior skill of Cæsar's generals ultimately brought him the victory. The battle of Actium, fought on September 3, 31 B.C., marked the end of Cæsar's struggle for supremacy and added one more to the triumphs of the West over the East. The tidings of this great victory furnished Horace with the theme of the following epode; it is addressed to Mæcenas, who had been left behind by Cæsar as *præfectus urbi*.

Quando repostum Cæcubum ad festas dapes
  victore lætus Cæsare
tecum sub alta—sic Iovi gratum—domo,
  beate Mæcenas, bibam,
sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,
  hac Dorium, illis barbarum?
ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
  dux fugit ustis navibus,
minatus urbi vincla, quæ detraxerat 900
  servis amicus perfidis.
Romanus eheu—posteri negabitis!—
  emancipatus feminæ

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fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
servire rugosis potest,
interque signa turpe militaria
sol aspicit conopium.
at huc frementes verterunt bis mille equos
Galli canentes Cæsarem,
hostiliumque navium portu latent 910
puppes sinistrorsum citæ.
io triumphe, tu moraris aureos
currus et intactas boves ?
io triumphe, nec Iugurthino parem
bello reportasti ducem,
neque Africanum, cui super Karthaginem
virtus sepulchrum condidit.
terra marique victus hostis punico
lugubre mutavit sagum.
aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus 920
ventis iturus non suis,
exercitatas aut petit Syrtes Noto,
aut fertur incerto mari.
capaciores adfer huc, puer, scyphos
et Chia vina aut Lesbia
vel, quod fluentem nauseam coerceat,
metire nobis Cæcubum.
curam metumque Cæsaris rerum iuvat
dulci Lyæo solvere.

Epode IX.

In the following year the scene of war was transferred to Egypt. On August 1 Alexandria was taken. Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide, and were buried together in the mausoleum of the Ptolemies, and Egypt was formally annexed as a province of the Roman Empire. In the following ode Horace purposely makes no

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mention of Antony—Romans could not triumph over a fellow-citizen—but calls upon his comrades to celebrate the triumph of Cæsar and the end of the "frenzied queen."

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero 930
pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
ornare pulvinar deorum
tempus erat dapibus, sodales.
antehac nefas depromere Cæcubum
cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
regina dementes ruinas
funus et imperio parabat
contaminato cum grege turpium
morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
sperare fortunaque dulci 940
ebria. sed minuit furorem
vix una sospes navis ab ignibus,
mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
redegit in veros timores
Cæsar, ab Italia volantem
remis adurguens, accipiter velut
molles columbas aut leporem citus
venator in campis nivalis
Hæmoniæ, daret ut catenis
fatale monstrum : quæ generosius 950
perire quærens nec muliebriter
expavit ensem nec latentes
classe cita reparavit oras ;
ausa et iacentem visere regiam
vultu sereno, fortis et asperas
tractare serpentes, ut atrum
corpore combiberet venenum,

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deliberata morte ferocior ;
sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens
privata deduci superbo
non humilis mulier triumpho.

Odes, I, xxxvii.

XIV

IN the year 30 B.C. Horace published some of his early lyric poems. The collection, which included seventeen pieces of varying length and merit, was termed by Horace himself "Iambi" (lampoons), but afterward received the name of the Epodes. The poems were written at intervals between 41 B.C. and the year of their publication, and are interesting chiefly as being a prelude to the Odes and the poet's first essay in "modulating Æolian song to the Italian lyre." "The Epodes," says Professor Conington, "were the production of Horace's youth, and probably would not have been much cared for by posterity if they had constituted his only title to fame. A few of them are beautiful, but some are revolting, and the rest . . . remind us of the least attractive portion of the Odes."

A year or so later the second book of the Satires appeared. In these poems Horace continued his humorous and pointed criticism on men and manners. Nor did he fail on occasion to turn his pen upon himself. This readiness to admit his own weakness did much in keeping for the poet the affection of his friends, for they could scarcely preserve a lasting anger against

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one who, while holding up their foibles to ridicule, candidly acknowledged similar failings in himself. Horace's remarkable gift of pleasant raillery has been admirably summed up by a later Roman satirist in the following couplet :

> Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
> tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit.[1]
>
> Persius, I, 116.

As an example of the readiness with which the poet criticized his own frailties, the whole of the seventh satire in Book II is well worth reading. In it the slave, Davus, uses the privilege of free speech granted on the Saturnalia to such as he, and points out, with abundance of illustration, that his master is an arrant hypocrite. Horace's protestations of love for country life and simple rustic fare Davus characterizes as mere humbug ; the poet need not try to delude *him* with his specious philosophy ; he is not worth listening to, for he is more inconsistent than the very people upon whom he pours forth the vials of his ridicule. Says Davus :

> " Laudas
> fortunam et mores antiquæ plebis, et idem,
> si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses,
> aut quia non sentis quod clamas rectius esse,
> aut quia non firmus rectum defendis et hæres
> nequiquam cæno cupiens evellere plantam.
> Romæ rus optas ; absentem rusticus urbem 970

[1] Arch Horace, while he strove to mend,
Probed all the foibles of his smiling friend ;
Played lightly round and round each peccant part,
And won, unfelt, an entrance to his heart.
Gifford's trans.

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tollis ad astra levis. si nusquam es forte vocatus
ad cenam laudas securum holus ac, velut usquam
vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque
quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. iusserit ad se
Mæcenas serum sub lumina prima venire
convivam : 'nemon oleum feret ocius ? ecquis
audit ? ' cum magno blateras clamore fugisque.
Mulvius et scurræ, tibi non referenda precati,
discedunt. 'etenim fateor me,' dixerit ille,
'duci ventre levem, nasum nidore supinor, 980
imbecillus, iners, si quid vis, adde, popino.
tu cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro
insectere velut melior, verbisque decoris
obvolvas vitium ? ' quid, si me stultior ipso
quingentis empto drachmis deprenderis ? ''

Sat. II, vii. 22-43.

Of the eight satires in this book at least three are devoted to a strong condemnation of the indulgence in the pleasures of the table, so prevalent at the time among wealthy Romans. Simple in his own tastes, despite Davus's assertions to the contrary, Horace viewed with alarm the growing luxury around him, and sternly rebuked the foolish waste on rare and costly dishes of money that might be put to some noble use. The elaborate banquets introduced from Greece and Asia were in reality abhorrent to him. Even the table decorations must be of the simplest kind. As he says elsewhere,

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus,
displicent nexæ philyra coronæ,
mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
sera moretur.

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simplici myrto nihil adlabores 990
sedulus, curo : neque te ministrum
dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta
vite bibentem.

Odes, I, xxxviii.

The last satire in Book II contains a humorous description of a feast given by a rich but miserly *parvenu* to Mæcenas and a few friends. As the *menu* included Lucanian boar (caught when the gentle south wind blew), Chian wine (which had never crossed the sea), honey-apples (gathered under the waning moon), entrails of plaice and turbot, and a lamprey served with a wonderful sauce made of Venafrum oil, Iberian fish-pickle, five-year-old wine boiled, white pepper and sour vinegar, we can see that Horace meant it to be a caricature ; but behind the mask of pleasantry the poet was frowning upon a practice which unfortunately spread too widely among the Romans, as we learn from the works of Martial, Petronius, and many others.

In another satire (II, ii.) we are introduced to the peasant sage Ofellus, who explains " how great an advantage it is to live contentedly on little." It is only the rich and indolent, he points out, who are tempted to indulge in the extraordinary dishes one hears about ; they do so because in their idleness they have no appetite ; let them take exercise, then, in work or manly play, and learn from this that " hunger is the best sauce " :

Cum sale panis
latrantem stomachum bene leniet.

Sat. II, ii. 17-18.

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Ofellus then goes on to ridicule the prevalence of rare dishes as being caused, not by desire, but by fashion :

> Si quis nunc mergos suaves edixerit assos,
> parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus.
>
> Sat. II, ii. 51–52.

At the same time he would not have one descend to meanness. Let one's fare be good and daintily served even though it be but simple ; and then will come the reward :

> Accipe nunc victus tenuis quæ quantaque secum
> adferat. in primis valeas bene : nam variæ res
> ut noceant homini credas, memor illius escæ, 1000
> quæ simplex olim tibi sederit ; at simul assis
> miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
> dulcia se in bilem vertent stomachoque tumultum
> lenta feret pituita. vides ut pallidus omnis
> cena desurgat dubia ? quin corpus onustum
> hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat una
> atque adfigit humo divinæ particulam auræ.
> alter, ubi dicto citius curata sopori
> membra dedit, vegetus præscripta ad munia surgit.
> hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam,
> sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus, 1011
> seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus, ubique
> accedent anni, tractari mollius ætas
> imbecilla volet. tibi quidnam accedet ad istam
> quam puer et validus præsumis mollitiem, seu
> dura valetudo inciderit seu tarda senectus ?
>
> Ibid. 70–88.

Thus far Ofellus has been describing the advantages of a frugal life merely from the

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point of view of health, but now he rises to a higher plane :

Das aliquid famæ, quæ carmine gratior aurem
occupet humanam ? grandes rhombi patinæque
grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus. adde
iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum 1020
et frustra mortis cupidum, cum deerit egenti
as, laquei pretium. "iure," inquit, "Trausius istis
iurgatur verbis ; ego vectigalia magna
divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus." ergo
quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis ?
cur eget indignus quisquam, te divite ? quare
templa ruunt antiqua deum ? cur, improbe, caræ
non aliquid patriæ tanto emetiris acervo ?
uni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res,
o magnus posthac, inimicis risus ! uterne 1030
ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius ? hic qui
pluribus adsuerit mentem corpusque superbum,
an qui contentus parvo metuensque futuri
in pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello ?

Sat. II, ii. 94–111.

In workmanship the second book of Satires shows a great improvement on the first. The poet had been putting into practice his own maxim about the "frequent turning of the stilus," and the result is now apparent both in form and matter. The rough and cumbrous hexameters of Lucilius Horace never did accept as a standard. Even in his earliest works he had outstripped the older poet at least in versification, and now in the new satires he brings the form of the hexameter for everyday use to a perfection as great as that which was

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soon to be attained by Vergil in the heroic style. Although he did not yet claim the title of "poet," Horace might reasonably have done so, for however near his homely lines sometimes go to the verge of prose they never quite lose the quality of poetry. In matter, too, the improvement is noticeable. His years of prosperity and companionship with men of taste had dulled the memory of the dark days that followed Philippi, and allowed his genius to resume its natural bent. Thus the later satires are marked not only by an extraordinary command of rhythm and language, but by kindliness, humour, and an insight into human nature attained only by the greatest of poets.

XV

THE decade which followed the death of Antony and Cleopatra was a busy one for many of the friends of Horace. Cæsar himself in those years carried through the difficult task of establishing a form of government which was in reality a monarchy while purporting to be merely an extension of the Republic. To show to the Romans a world at peace, the Temple of Janus was closed for the first time in two centuries. Later on in the same year, 29 B.C., Cæsar celebrated a three days' triumph, and for the next two years he and Agrippa, as consuls with censorial power, purged the roll of the Senate, held a solemn purification of the people, restored temples and

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ancient shrines (Odes, III, vi.), and paved the way for "the restitution of the commonwealth to the keeping of the Senate and the people." This was formally done on January 1, 27 B.C., when Cæsar resigned the extraordinary power he had held during and after his Triumvirate, and when in return for his services he received from both bodies the offices which practically constituted him the first Emperor of Rome. The tribunician power which he had held since 36 B.C. was continued; he was granted the consular imperium for ten years, a command which was afterwards extended for life; he was made commander-in-chief (*imperator*) of the armies of Rome, with the exclusive right of levying troops and of making war and peace; and, finally, in order to mark his exceptional position as head of the State and its religion, the new title of "Augustus" was conferred upon him. This title is first used by Horace in an ode to Valgius Rufus, urging him to refrain from plaintive elegies and to join with him in singing the fresh triumphs of their chief:

Desine mollium
tandem querellarum, et potius nova
cantemus Augusti tropæa
Cæsaris et rigidum Niphaten
Medumque flumen gentibus additum
victis minores volvere vertices, 1040
intraque præscriptum Gelonos
exiguis equitare campis.

Odes, II, ix. 17-24.

For over forty years Augustus was spared to

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hold the principate he had created, and in that time he carried through reforms in matters military, social, and religious which proved effective for centuries after his death.

In his great work Augustus was ably seconded by his friends Agrippa and Mæcenas, and by the brilliant band of courtiers among whom these two held the place of honour. It was no doubt with the direct approval of the Emperor that Mæcenas continued and extended his patronage of the literary men of the time. The astute ruler would not fail to see the advantage of having on his side what we may term the "press" of ancient Rome; he would remember the evil that had accrued to his grand-uncle from the bitter attacks of hostile pamphleteers, and would willingly support his minister in making provision that the best writers of his own day should not be tempted to oppose him. The result of this well-timed patronage may be gauged from the statement of Dean Merivale that Tibullus "alone of the great poets of his day remained undazzled by the glitter of the Cæsarian usurpation."

The foremost place among the writers of the Augustan age is given by common consent to Vergil. After the publication of the "Georgics" in 29 B.C. this poet devoted the last ten years of his life to the composition of the work which won for its author a reputation second only to that of Homer. The subject of the "Æneid" is said to have been suggested to the poet by Augustus himself, and its theme, of course, is

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the greatness and glory of Rome. In the story of the foundation of the city and the rescue of Italy from barbarism by the founder of the Julian race Vergil has portrayed a parallel to the great work which his master had taken upon himself, the establishment of peace and content in Italy and of justice throughout her dominions. It is curious to note that, good friends as Vergil and Horace were, the works which have made them immortal were composed during years when they were seldom meeting. Questions of health and the application necessary for the production of the "Æneid" caused Vergil to withdraw from the distractions of the capital; he chose Campania as the scene of his retirement, and while he was slowly unfolding there "how great a task it was to found the Roman nation," the younger poet, dividing his time between Rome and his Sabine farm, was rearing for himself that monument which Time has adjudged "more durable than brass."

Of the copious literary output which accompanied the political activity in the early years of the Empire, the poems of Varius and Gallus have unfortunately been lost, as well as the works of Gaius Asinius Pollio. The last-named, who had proved a good friend to Vergil in the confiscations after Philippi, was a soldier and statesman of high repute; he had also won laurels as an orator, critic, and writer of tragedies; and, after the final victory of Augustus, he settled down to compile a history of the civil wars. It is an inestimable loss that

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this work, written by a man of such varied accomplishments, has not come down to us. In the following poem Horace pays a glowing tribute to the vividness of Pollio's narrative, and proceeds to descant in his usual manner upon the evils of intestine strife :

Motum ex Metello consule civicum,
bellique causas et vitia et modos,
ludumque Fortunæ gravesque
principum amicitias et arma
nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
periculosæ plenum opus aleæ,
tractas et incedis per ignes
suppositos cineri doloso. 1050
paulum severæ Musa tragœdiæ
desit theatris : mox, ubi publicas
res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
insigne mæstis præsidium reis
et consulenti, Pollio, curiæ,
cui laurus æternos honores
Delmatico peperit triumpho.
iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
perstringis auris, iam litui strepunt, 1060
iam fulgor armorum fugaces
terret equos equitumque vultus.
audire magnos iam videor duces
non indecoro pulvere sordidos
et cuncta terrarum subacta
præter atrocem animum Catonis.
Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
Afris inulta cesserat impotens
tellure, victorum nepotes
rettulit inferias Iugurthæ, 1070

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quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
campus sepulchris inpia prœlia
testatur auditumque Medis
Hesperiæ sonitum ruinæ ?
qui gurges aut quæ flumina lugubris
ignara belli ? quod mare Dauniæ
non decoloravere cædes ?
quæ caret ora cruore nostro ?
sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis
Ceæ retractes munera neniæ, 1080
mecum Dionæo sub antro
quære modos leviore plectro.

Odes, II, i.

XVI

IN the sphere of government Augustus, as we have pointed out, set himself quietly but thoroughly to effect those reforms which he deemed necessary for the preservation of the State; in the same quiet and thorough fashion, we may be sure, he saw to it that the writers belonging to the court circle embodied in their works the political and moral teaching which, in his opinion, the Roman world required. In that busy *officina scriptorum* around Mæcenas we can almost picture Augustus himself sharing out the work. "Prose-narrative ? Pollio and Livy. The epic ? Vergil, of course, and Varius. Elegies—a slight misnomer now—Propertius and—well, perhaps Gallus, for Tibullus will have nothing to do with us. But what shall I make of that trifler Horace ? Ah, I'll let him alone ; perhaps he may write me a letter some day ! " The Emperor, long afterwards, did receive the

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letter we imagine him here desiring, but ere that time came Horace had found his true *métier* and proved himself a labourer worthy of his hire.

We have already referred briefly to our poet's early essays in lyric verse, the Epodes, published in 30 B.C. The study of lyric forms Horace now took up in earnest, and such was his diligence and such his genius that within seven years he gave to the world a volume which immediately secured for him a place among her greatest poets. To the literature of Greece, Horace, as we have seen, had taken naturally; her philosophy and science he had imbibed with eagerness, and he was no less charmed by the variety and finish of the metres in which her poetry found expression. From the easier forms which he had practised in the Epodes he now passed on to make himself master of the more intricate Greek metres, such as the Sapphic, the Asclepiad, and the Alcaic, and, in his own phrase, to "lead down the streams of Æolian song" to irrigate and refresh the arid poetry of his native land.

As topics for his verse he had, in the first place, the inspiration of his models, love and wine; and while many of the odes are devoted to these subjects—generally very lightly treated—such poems only form a framework, as it were, for the political and patriotic odes in which he declared his sympathy with the policy of Augustus, celebrated the triumphs of his master, and proclaimed the need of peace and rest after the wretched turmoil of the civil wars. Seeing

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that the leading odes thus deal with the troubled times through which the Roman world was passing, it is not strange that we hear the note of tragedy and pathos resounding throughout these poems. This sad strain must have been dominant also in the mind of Horace, for his invocation and his thanks are directed not to the Lyric Muse, Erato, but to Melpomene, the Lady of Sorrows :

> Præcipe lugubres
> cantus, Melpomene.
>
> Odes, I, xxiv. 2-3.

> Sume superbiam
> quæsitam meritis, et mihi Delphica
> lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.
>
> Ibid. III, xxx. 14-16.

Yet the Odes, on the whole, are not marked by great depth of feeling ; the passionate cry which we find in such true lyrists as Catullus and Burns is seldom heard in the poems of Horace. Nor is this strange when we consider that the Odes were not the expression of youth's transitory feelings of happiness or despair, but the mature and deliberate work of a man whose locks were turning grey. The remarkable qualities of these poems are rather their exquisite finish, their terseness, which at times is almost epigrammatic, and the kindly philosophy that permeates them, which in its worldly wisdom is as fresh to-day as when the verses first won the admiration and affection of men.

From the time of the poet himself critics have

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endeavoured to define—for it is impossible to explain—wherein lies the peculiar charm of the Odes. One of the earliest commentators, Petronius Arbiter, coined a phrase—"Horatii curiosa felicitas"—which for brevity and suggestiveness has not been surpassed. It well expresses one feature of the Odes—the careful but at the same time happy choice of epithet and phrase which makes these lyrics so vivid, so compact, and so easy to quote. A little later Quintilian gave it as his opinion that "of lyrists, Horace is alone, one might say, worthy to be read. For he has bursts of inspiration and is full of playful delicacy and grace; and in the variety of his images, as well as in expression, shows a most happy daring." At various times attention has been called to the fact that Horace was not only the first of Latin poets to adapt Æolian song to his mother-tongue, but that he was also the last. "The moulds," says Mr. H. A. J. Munro, "in which Horace cast his lyrical and satirical thoughts were broken at his death"; and Mr. J. W. Mackail,[1] in pointing out that "with Horace the Latin lyric stops dead," states the reason for this in a few pregnant remarks: "His success was so immediate and so immense that it fixed the limit, so to speak, for future poets within the confined range which he had chosen to adopt; and that range he had filled so perfectly that no room was left for anything but imitation on the one hand, or, on the other, such a painful avoidance

[1] "Latin Literature," p. 113 (London, John Murray, 1895).

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of imitation as would be equally disastrous in its results. With the principal lyric metres he had done what Vergil had done with the dactylic hexameter, carried them to the highest point of which the foreign Latin tongue was capable. They were naturalized, but remained sterile."

But to no one will the charm of Horace's poetry be brought home by desultory observations on its form and matter. A full appreciation of his verse can be obtained only through that knowledge of the poet's mind which follows the careful and repeated perusal of his works.

Several of the odes we have already assigned to special dates, and quoted as opportunity occurred. These dates, of course, are not those at which the poems were actually written, but those of the events to which the lines refer. Some of the poems—for example, "Ad Agrippam" (l. 435), "Nunc est bibendum" (l. 930), and "Motum ex Metello consule civicum" (l. 1043)—have every appearance of being topical, but most of the others were composed some time after the events they describe, and picture those events from the point of view of the poet's subsequent experience.

With regard to the actual date of the publication of the Odes, authorities vary in assigning it either to 23 or 19 B.C. Those who favour the earlier date base their arguments on the lament for Quintilius Varus (I, xxiv.), whose death is said to have taken place in 24 B.C., and on the reference (l. 499) to the growing fame of young Marcellus. This youth, the son of Octavia by

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her first marriage, was destined, had he lived, for the highest of honours ; he had married his cousin Julia, the Emperor's only daughter, and having become the adopted son and heir of Augustus, he was looked upon as the natural successor to the purple. But in the autumn of that pestiferous year 23 B.C. the young prince succumbed to fever. Seeing that Horace, in the passage quoted, refers to Marcellus as still alive, the inference is that the Odes were published during the first half of 23 B.C.

On the other hand, some commentators consider that a well-known ode, which we shall quote presently, must have been written as late as the spring of 19 B.C. This is the ode addressed to the ship which was bearing Vergil to Athens. Now we know that the latter poet did visit Greece in the year referred to. In fact, we may here anticipate and state that this sojourn in Greece cost Vergil his life. Never very robust, the poet on this occasion evidently incurred fatigue too great for a man of fifty summers. Visiting Megara in sultry September weather, he caught fever, which he aggravated by returning in great haste to Italy. A few days after he reached Brundisium Horace's dear friend had passed " along the shadowy way by which, they say, no traveller e'er returns."

If, however, the ode to Vergil's ship is to be referred to 19 B.C., it must have been composed among the very last of the eighty-eight pieces which Horace included in the three books. We should therefore be inclined to look for " Sic te

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diva potens Cypri" near the end of Book III, whereas the ode is actually the *third* poem in the *first* book. Now the odes are arranged in a chronological order which is fairly well defined, and this arrangement would be completely broken by inserting among the early poems of Book I an ode dealing with an event of 19 B.C., for, as we have seen, one of the last poems in the first book, "Nunc est bibendum," refers to the triumph of Cæsar over Cleopatra in 30 B.C. It is certainly true that Vergil visited Greece in the year of his death, but why should we suppose that this was his only visit to that land? How many even of his contemporaries could tell when or how often the recluse poet set sail from Brundisium, or considered such journeys of his worth chronicling? Further, Vergil, we have pointed out, began to compose his great epic in 29 B.C.—an epic which brings a prince of Troy to Italy through the seas and isles of Greece. What is more likely than that at the commencement of his work Vergil made a vogage to the East in order to secure the "local colour" necessary for his poem? To such a voyage the third ode of Book I could fittingly apply, and it would then fall into its natural place in the chronological scheme of the Odes.

Again, Horace must have been busy for the year or two preceding 20 B.C. with the book he then published, namely, the first collection of Epistles. This is a work of a totally different nature from the Odes, and it is not likely that the Epistles and the Odes appeared almost

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simultaneously, for our poet was a slow and careful craftsman, and would be certain to finish one set of poems before devoting his attention to another. On the whole, it seems most probable that the Odes were published in the summer of 23 B.C. and that during the next three years the Epistles were brought to the finished form in which they were given to the world.

But we shall close this rather tedious discussion, and compensate the reader by quoting the ode which has figured so prominently in the preceding paragraphs.

Sic te diva potens Cypri,
  sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,
ventorumque regat pater 1090
  obstrictis aliis præter Iapyga,
navis, quæ tibi creditum
  debes Vergilium, finibus Atticis
reddas incolumem precor
  et serves animæ dimidium meæ.
illi robur et æs triplex
  circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
commisit pelago ratem
  primus, nec timuit præcipitem Africum
decertantem Aquilonibus 1100
  nec tristes Hyadas nec rabiem Noti.
quo non arbiter Hadriæ
  maior, tollere seu ponere vult freta.
quem Mortis timuit gradum,
  qui siccis oculis monstra natantia
qui vidit mare turbidum et
  infames scopulos Acroceraunia ?
nequiquam deus abscidit
  prudens Oceano dissociabili

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terras, si tamen impiæ 1110
non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.
audax omnia perpeti
gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas :
audax Iapeti genus
ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit ;
post ignem ætheria domo
subductum macies et nova febrium
terris incubuit cohors,
semotique prius tarda necessitas
leti corripuit gradum. 1120
expertus vacuum Dædalus aëra
pinnis non homini datis ;
perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.
nil mortalibus ardui est ;
cælum ipsum petimus stultitia neque
per nostrum patimur scelus
iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina.

Odes, I, iii.

XVII

ALTHOUGH the odes hitherto quoted have dealt chiefly with historical subjects, the reader may have formed from them an idea of the general character and teaching of those poems upon which Horace's claim to immortality is based. It now concerns us to cull in this choice garden a few flowers—broken at times though they be—to illustrate the poet's manner of dealing with topics which lie outside the realm of Clio. To classify the odes and choose one or two poems as typical of each class is in the present instance almost an impossibility, for no matter what the thought

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may be which inspires a particular ode Horace is ever ready to diverge from the initial theme and to present to his readers yet another sample of his philosophy of life. A rather gloomy philosophy, too, it appears to the modern mind; never do we get far from the Epicurean injunction, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Yet we must remember that in this respect Horace could not be other than a child of his age. In the writings of all the Augustan or earlier poets we naturally look for such a note of sadness when they are contemplating the brevity of life and the swift coming of the long, interminable night.

> Soles occidere et redire possunt :
> nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
> nox est perpetua una dormienda. 1130

The belief thus expressed by Catullus (Carm. V), as well as his moral,

> *Vivamus,* mea Lesbia, atque amemus,

is confirmed again and again in the Odes of Horace.

> Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
> labuntur anni, nec pietas moram
> rugis et instanti senectæ
> adferet indomitæque morti ;
> . . . . .
> linquenda tellus et domus et placens
> uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum
> te præter invisas cupressos
> ulla brevem dominum sequetur.

Odes, II, xiv. 1–4, 21–24.

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Rich and poor alike, the poet reminds us, must leave "the warm precincts of the cheerful day":

Æqua lege Necessitas 1140
sortitur insignes et imos;
omne capax movet urna nomen.

Odes, III, i. 14–16.

The metaphor of this stanza is found also in the well-known ode to Dellius, urging him "to meet with manly fortitude the storms of adverse fate":

Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho,
nil interest, an pauper et infima
de gente sub divo moreris,
victima nil miserantis Orci:
omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
versatur urna serius ocius
sors exitura et nos in æternum
exsilium impositura cumbæ. 1150

Ibid. II, iii. 21–28.

The same thought, clothed in different dress, forms the burden of the "Spring Ode" to Horace's old companion in arms, Lucius Sestius, the *consul suffectus* of 23 B.C.:

Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turres. o beate Sesti,
vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
iam te premet nox fabulæque Manes
et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
nec regna vini sortiere talis,
nec tenerum Lycidam mirabere.

Ibid. I, iv. 13–19.

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But let us put an end to these fragmentary "mortuary musings" by giving in full three poems which expound, better perhaps than any of the others, Horace's conception of how one ought to escape from or find an antidote to the sadness of life's fleeting hour.

AD TORQUATUM

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
arboribusque comæ,
mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas 1160
flumina prætereunt,

Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
ducere nuda choros.
immortalia ne speres, monet annus et almum
quæ rapit hora diem.

frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit æstas,
interitura, simul
pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
bruma recurrit iners.

damna tamen celeres reparant cælestia lunæ: 1170
nos, ubi decidimus,
quo pius Æneas, quo Tullus dives et Ancus,
pulvis et umbra sumus.

quis scit an adiciant hodiernæ crastina summæ
tempora di superi?
cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico
quæ dederis animo.

cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
fecerit arbitria,
non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te 1180
restituet pietas:

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infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
liberat Hippolytum,
nec Lethæa valet Theseus abrumpere caro
vincula Pirithoo.

Odes, IV, vii.

AD THALIARCHUM

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus
silvæ laborantes geluque
flumina constiterint acuto ?
dissolve frigus ligna super foco 1190
large reponens atque benignius
deprome quadrimum Sabina,
o Thaliarche, merum diota.
permitte divis cetera, qui simul
stravere ventos æquore fervido
deprœliantes, nec cupressi
nec veteres agitantur orni.
quid sit futurum cras, fuge quærere, et
quem fors dierum cunque dabit, lucro
appone, nec dulces amores 1200
sperne puer neque tu choreas,
donec virenti canities abest
morosa. nunc et campus et areæ
lenesque sub noctem susurri
composita repetantur hora,
nunc et latentis proditor intimo
gratus puellæ risus ab angulo
pignusque dereptum lacertis
aut digito male pertinaci.

Ibid. I, ix

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LEUCONOË

Tu ne quæsieris—scire nefas—quem mihi, quem tibi
finem di dederint, Leuconoë, nec Babylonios 1211
temptaris numeros. ut melius, quidquid erit, pati,
seu plures hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
quæ nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum. sapias, vina liques et spatio brevi
spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida
ætas : *carpe diem*, quam minimum credula postero.

Odes, I, xi.

It is to be noted that to Horace the "eternal exile in the ill-stored home of Pluto" did not connote a state of insensibility. In the ode celebrating his escape from the falling tree the poet describes how nearly he *beheld* the realm of swarthy Proserpine, and Æacus dispensing justice, the seclusion of the Elysian Fields, and Sappho and Alcæus pouring forth quiet music to shades of the departed,

> Dreaming through the twilight
> That doth not rise nor set.

But the drear monotony of such an after-existence as this only serves, in the mind of the poet, to accentuate the brightness and joy of the present life, and to supply a further reason for seizing with eagerness its transient pleasures.

> Live for the day, and hide with flowers the truth,
> Ere through the covert autumn winds shall sigh ;
> Let us enjoy the early bloom of youth,
> So soon to die.

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So soon to die, and leave where love has been
The bitter root of memory, graffed with pain ;
For the dead shoots shall spring, the leaves be green,
Never again.

Never again : before youth's days are done,
Let us then seek for pleasure while we may ;
And, till the setting of youth's glorious sun,
Live for the day.[1]

Horace's love of country life, so often expressed in the hexameter poems, is again made manifest in many of the odes. In addition to this we find the wider affection which he feels for his native land inspiring a regular series of moral and patriotic odes, and appearing now and again in others of a less formal kind. "Sunny Rhodes and Mitylene, and the storied cities of the East, let other poets belaud in continuous song ; as for myself," says Horace,

Me nec tam patiens Lacedæmon
nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
quam domus Albuneæ resonantis 1220
et præceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
mobilibus pomaria rivis.

Odes, I, vii. 10-14.

Just as his native land was dear to Horace, so were its heroes and its gods. Imbued himself with the spirit of fortitude and resignation characteristic of the best of the ancient Romans, the poet chaunts in exultant tone the glorious choice of Regulus, who "nerved the heart of the wavering Senate by counsel such as mortal never

[1] From "The Humble Tribute," by Harold Nunn (London : Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Ltd.).

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gave before, and through his sorrowing friends passed forth to exile and to death."

Fertur pudicæ coniugis osculum
parvosque natos ut capitis minor
ab se removisse et virilem
torvus humi posuisse vultum,
donec labantes consilio patres
firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
interque mærentes amicos
egregius properaret exsul. 1230
atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus
tortor pararet ; non aliter tamen
dimovit obstantes propinquos
et populum reditus morantem,
quam si clientum longa negotia
diiudicata lite relinqueret,
tendens Venafranos in agros
aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum.

Odes, III, v. 41–56.

If we were to attempt the task we have rejected and to classify according to subject-matter the various odes of Horace one section would certainly claim the poet's own "Nescio-quid Nugarum" as a fitting title. This section, too, would be of considerable length, for it would have to contain nearly all the love-poems of Horace that have come down to us. In the case of Catullus, and indeed of all true lyric poets, it is possible from the verses they leave to reconstruct with fair accuracy the love-story of the writer, but in the case of our poet no such possibility exists. In his youth Horace had undoubtedly felt the scourge of "the

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Queen, whose realm is happy Cyprus, and Memphis, too—far from Thracian snow," but if he wrote any verses then, they have been lost, and with them the record of his youthful amours. When he began to write in earnest the poet had behind him the sobering influence of Philippi and the lean years that followed, as well as a reasoned philosophy which enjoined on all occasions the pursuit of the "golden mean." Thus in his love-poems one must not look for the ardent feeling that animates the verses of Propertius and Tibullus. These two poets, writing to real and live mistresses, filled their poetry with the passion which they themselves felt, but Horace, addressing indifferently Chloë and Pyrrha, Lydia and Phyllis, Lalage, Chloris, and the rest, could only breathe into his work an erotic feeling simulated or laboriously rekindled. His odes, accordingly, lack the true lyrical cry, for the poet was too much master of himself to allow any woman to disturb his peace of mind, and, on his own confession, was only too glad, if he did at times succumb, to find his charmer's power on the wane.

Among the many names of unknown ladies in the Odes—names generally chosen for their etymological or metrical value—there is one, as Mr. E. C. Wickham points out, "which is perhaps redeemed from this shadowy existence, both by the personal feelings that seem to accompany its mention, and by its recurrence among the reminiscences of the poet's own life

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in the Epistles." Cinara, the lady referred to, belonged to that class of accomplished *hetæræ* whose beauty and wit wrought such havoc among the bachelors, and sometimes among the married men, of the poet's acquaintance. While rapacious with others, Horace's "Wild Rose" (Κυνάρα) welcomed him graciously even when he came to her with empty hands, and by her youthful coquetries won a warm place in his affections. When, like many others, Cinara jilted the poet, we find him over his cups dolefully confiding his sorrow to Mæcenas, and later on referring with true pathos to the early death of this unfortunate lady.[1]

A further incident in the love-story of Horace appears to find expression in his ode of comfort to Albius Tibullus, his brother-poet. The lovely Glycera, of whom Tibullus was enamoured, had evidently placed between herself and him a barrier impassable, the "brazen bond" of wedlock. Horace bids his friend accept his fate with equanimity, for Venus, he says, takes delight in bringing about such an ill-assorted match as that which Glycera had now formed. Then our poet continues :

> Ipsum me, melior cum peteret Venus,
> grata detinuit compede Myrtale 1240
> libertina, fretis acrior Hadriæ
> curvantis Calabros sinus.

Odes, I, xxxiii. 13–16.

"As for myself, when a better match was offered me, with pleasing fetters Myrtale held

[1] See Odes, IV, i., xiii., and Epist. I, vii., xiv.

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me back—slave-born Myrtale, more passionate than the Adriatic billows that hollow out the Calabrian shore." Such is our reading of this fragment of the poem addressed to Tibullus. Horace contemplated marriage with some *conjunx dotata;* Myrtale would not hear of it; for the sake of peace, the poet yielded; perhaps he never took the notion again: at any rate, no winsome wife (*placens uxor*) ever graced with her presence the home of Horatius Flaccus.

Yet our poet never spoke with contempt of the marriage tie. To do so would not only have been against the dictates of his own heart, but would also have been a direct insult to his royal master, whose marriage laws were among the outstanding reforms of his reign. Indeed, one of the finest stanzas in the whole of Horace is written in praise of the bond which he himself had been forced to abjure:

> Felices ter et amplius
> quos inrupta tenet copula, nec malis
> divulsus querimoniis
> suprema citius solvet amor die.
>
> Odes, I, xiii. 17–20.

Scholars of a bygone day, in interpreting some of Horace's lighter poems, caused much confusion by constantly reading "Flaccus" wherever an "ego" appeared. The folly of this substitution does not require to be demonstrated now; suffice it to say that our poet had neither the inclination nor the physical strength to constitute himself a Don Juan, and that the

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attempts made to clothe in flesh those ladies with the euphonious names were exercises which might as well have been "writ in water."

As an example of a poem the meaning of which is completely obscured by introducing Horace's personality we may take the amœbean ode, III, ix. In this ode the parts have been allotted by tradition to Horace and the nebulous Lydia, but the initial reference to Ilia, the type of Roman matronhood, and the general sense of the poem point to a matrimonial instead of a lovers' quarrel as being the theme of the ode. Read from this point of view, "Donec gratus eram" becomes an excellent piece of persiflage between "any husband and any wife."

Husband: Donec gratus eram tibi,
nec quisquam potior bracchia candidæ
cervici iuvenis dabat,
Persarum vigui rege beatior. 1250

Wife: Donec non alia magis
arsisti, neque erat Lydia post Chloën,
multi Lydia nominis
Romana vigui clarior Ilia.

Husband: Me nunc Thressa Chloë regit,
dulces docta modos et citharæ sciens,
pro quà non metuam mori,
si parcent animæ fata superstiti.

Wife: Me torret face mutua
Thurini Calais filius Ornyti, 1260
pro quo bis patiar mori,
si parcent puero fata superstiti.

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Husband: Quid si prisca redit Venus
diductosque iugo cogit aëneo,
si flava excutitur Chloë
reiectæque patet ianua Lydiæ ?

Wife: Quamquam sidere pulchrior
ille est, tu levior cortice et improbo
iracundior Hadria,
tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.

Odes, III, ix.

Among so many fine odes typical of the poet's lighter mood we find difficulty in limiting our choice. We must, however, rest content with quoting just one more, the famous ode to Pyrrha, a poem unsurpassed for simplicity and finish as well as for the close interweaving of thought so characteristic of Horace's best work. Though many have tried to emulate Milton in translating this ode into our own tongue, we still await a rendering that will satisfy.

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa 1271
perfusus liquidis urguet odoribus
grato, Pyrrha, sub antro ?
cui flavam religas comam,
simplex munditiis ? heu quotiens fidem
mutatosque deos flebit et aspera
nigris æquora ventis
emirabitur insolens,
qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea,
qui semper vacuam, semper amabilem 1280
sperat, nescius auræ
fallacis. miseri, quibus

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intemptata nites. me tabula sacer
votiva paries indicat uvida
suspendisse potenti
vestimenta maris deo.

Odes, I, v.

XVIII

As we have already said, the volume which succeeded the Odes was Book I of the Epistles. The dates of several pieces in this collection can be ascertained from internal evidence, and its publication may with fair accuracy be assigned to the year 20 B.C. The Epistles, as the name indicates, take the form of letters addressed to various friends, and continue the philosophy of the Satires, mellowed, however, like the contents of the *pia testa*, by advancing years :

Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta.

Epist. II, ii. 211.

Very often some characteristic of the person addressed supplies Horace with a text on which to build a sermon, while at times his own perplexities and failings form the topics of his verse. Thus the Epistles, which are written in a lively and graceful style, admit us still more closely to the inner convictions of the poet, and unfold a personality that never fails to charm.

The year 20 B.C. may be said to mark the culmination of Horace's literary powers, for the few poems he wrote thereafter never surpass, and indeed seldom reach, the level of the works

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which mark the end of his *iuventus*. From the first poem in the collection—which, like many prefaces, may have been written last—we gather that the poet intended not to appeal again to the Muse, but to devote himself to the study of philosophy and to the construction of a practical scheme which should satisfy his declining years :

> Nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono ;
> quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo, et omnis in
> hoc sum ;
> condo et compono quæ mox depromere possim. 1290
>
> Epist. I, i. 10–12.

The system which he developed is purely eclectic, for he would own allegiance to no particular sect or school :

> Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,
> quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes ;
>
> Ibid. 14–15.

and the Epicureanism of his early days now became more and more tinged with a mild Stoicism. The theme, however, which runs like a bright thread through all his teaching is the praise of the golden mean. Fully fifteen years before he had written :

> Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
> quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum ;
>
> Sat. I, i. 106–107.

Much later, in an ode to the brother-in-law of Mæcenas, warning him to refrain from his

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fatal ambition, Horace had maintained his principle :

> Auream quisquis mediocritatem
> diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
> sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
> sobrius aula ;
>
> Odes, II, x. 5–8.

and now, in the Epistles, from sources innumerable he introduces similes and anecdotes to illustrate this favourite theme. A competency, he argues, is all the wise man should desire, for ambition and jealousy only embitter the mind into which they find an entrance :

> Quod satis est cui contingit, nil amplius optet.
> non domus et fundus, non æris acervus et auri
> ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres, 1301
> non animo curas : valeat possessor oportet,
> si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.
> qui cupit aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus et res,
> ut lippum pictæ tabulæ, fomenta podagram,
> auriculas citharæ collecta sorde dolentes.
> sincerum est nisi vas, quodcunque infundis acescit.
> sperne voluptates : nocet empta dolore voluptas.
> semper avarus eget : certum voto pete finem.
> invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis ; 1310
> invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
> maius tormentum.
>
> Epist. I, ii. 46–59.

Horace's old friend Aristius Fuscus we meet once more in the Epistles. To this lover of the city the poet addresses a letter written behind

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a crumbling shrine of the Sabine goddess Vacuna :

> Hæc tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunæ,
> excepto quod non simul esses, cetera lætus.
>
> Epist. I, x. 49–50.

The whole poem is a panegyric of country life and contentment, and in it Horace, when warning his friend not to yield to ambitious desires, caps some epigrammatic lines by retelling the old fable of "The Horse and the Stag" :

> Si quid mirabere, pones
> invitus. fuge magna : licet sub paupere tecto
> reges et regum vita præcurrere amicos.
> cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
> pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo
> imploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit ; 1320
> sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
> non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.
> sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis
> libertate caret, dominum vehet improbus atque
> serviet æternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.
>
> Ibid. x. 31–41.

Twice at least in the Epistles does Horace define what he understands by virtue. The first is rather a negative definition :

> Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
> stultitia caruisse ;
>
> Ibid. i. 41–42.

but in the second our poet follows in the foot-

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steps of Aristotle and holds virtue to be the mean between two opposite failings :

> Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrinque reductum.
>
> Epist. I, xviii. 9.

Amid all his good advice to others and all his praise of a life of moderation and content Horace does not forget to expose, as he did in the Satires, his own weakness and inconsistency. After describing how the spendthrift Mænius lost no opportunity of satisfying his voracious appetite—

> Quicquid quæsierat, ventri donabat avaro
>
> Ibid. xv. 32.

—the moralist sorrowfully acknowledges that he is just such another himself :

> Nimirum hic ego sum : nam tuta et parvula laudo,
> cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis : 1331
> verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
> vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
> conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.
>
> Ibid. xv. 42–46.

The last epistle of Book I is a most interesting epilogue to the volume. In it the poet speaks to his book as a wise old guardian to a wayward child, and predicts all sorts of disasters for it if it ventures from his care into the busy world without. At the end of the poem Horace confirms very cleverly the date of his birth—Lollius was consul in 21 B.C.—and introduces a few

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notes on his own character and appearance. In this his forty-fourth year the dark locks which once had adorned his low forehead were now quite turned to grey ; his eyes—once dark and lustrous, we may be sure—were losing their beauty, for ophthalmia had long been a sore complaint with him ; his old vigour, too, had gone—

Reddes
forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos

Epist. I, vii. 25-26.

—and he would rather bask in sunshine than face Soracte's snow. His temper, so ready to flare up in youth, at times annoyed him still, but, like a true philosopher, he never allowed the sun to go down upon his wrath. Of small stature and slender build, the poet presents to us the picture of a studious, winsome little man, old long before his time. But we had better stand aside and let Horace speak for himself :

Vertumnum Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,
scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.
odisti claves et grata sigilla pudico,
paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas, 1340
non ita nutritus. fuge, quo descendere gestis :
non erit emisso reditus tibi. " quid miser egi ?
quid volui ? " dices, ubi quid te læserit, et scis
in breve te cogi, cum plenus languet amator.
quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,
carus eris Romæ, donec te deserat ætas ;
contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi
cœperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertes,
aut fugies Uticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.

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ridebit monitor non exauditus ut ille, 1350
qui male parentem in rupes protrusit asellum
iratus : quis enim invitum servare laboret ?
hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
cum tibi sol tepidus plures admoverit aures,
me libertino natum patre et in tenui re
maiores pinnas nido extendisse loqueris,
ut quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas ;
me primis urbis belli placuisse domique,
corporis exigui, præcanum, solibus aptum, 1360
irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.
forte meum si quis te percontabitur ævum :
me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres,
collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.

Epist. I, xx.

XIX

THE intercourse between Horace and Mæcenas had often brought the poet into contact with Augustus and his friends ; and so high an opinion of him did the Emperor form that about the year 18 B.C. he offered to make him his private secretary. In the Suetonian "Life" of Horace the offer is thus recorded :

"Augustus epistularum quoque ei officium obtulit, ut hoc ad Mæcenatem scripto significat : 'Ante ipse sufficiebam scribendis epistolis amicorum : nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere. Veniet igitur ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam, et nos in epistolis scribendis adiuvabit.'"

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But the poet refused to be drawn "to the imperial table from Mæcenas' table of parasites"—a wise choice, no doubt, in view of his health and his tastes. In this refusal we find further proof that our philosophical friend had "flung away ambition," for had there been the least element of self-seeking in his nature he would not have allowed to pass this opportunity of becoming the trusted counsellor and confidant of the man at whose nod the nations trembled. However much Horace may have admired the Emperor as the gifted ruler of men and the restorer of peace and confidence to the Roman world, his own honesty precluded him from forming a close personal friendship with Augustus. He could never forget the Republican enthusiasm of his youth, the bitter warfare which had wrought him so much woe, and above all the cruelty of those proscriptions to which Octavianus had undoubtedly given his consent. In matters of state Horace was ready to acknowledge the *régime* of Augustus as affording the only solution of the difficulties of the time, but personally he found himself unable, without turning hypocrite, to admit his quondam foe into the inner chambers of his heart. The manly independence which we have noted in his dealings with his first patron is again shown here in his risking the wrath of a greater than Mæcenas. But the refusal brought him not the slightest disfavour; the words of the biographer, "Ac ne recusanti quidem aut succensuit quicquam aut amicitiam suam ingerere desiit,"

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describe the subsequent conduct of Augustus with brevity and truth.

The writer just quoted has fortunately preserved for us some extracts from letters sent by the Emperor to Horace. In these the great man repeatedly confirms his admiration and affection for the poet, assures him of a welcome to his table at all times, and playfully hints that Horace must have been "on his high horse" when he rejected the post offered to him. In one of these letters Augustus, when acknowledging the receipt of Horace's latest book, rallies the writer on keeping his *volumen* short in stature like himself, and suggests that he might at the same time have extended its girth, "sicut est circuitus ventriculi tui"—from which remark, as well as from some hints of his own, we may picture the little man as becoming rather *obesus* in his later years.

The death of Vergil had left Horace without peer among the poets of Mæcenas' circle, and his position as the laureate of the group was confirmed by the honour conferred upon him in the year 17 B.C. The end of the first decade of Augustan rule was to be marked by the celebration of certain games. The guardians of the Sibylline Books conveniently declared the time at hand for holding the old "Ludi Sæculares," a festival which was very irregularly kept, but which seems to have fallen due at intervals of 100 or 110 years. To Horace on this occasion was entrusted the task of composing a hymn to be sung by a chorus of fifty-

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four noble boys and girls at some time during the three days of rejoicing. The result was the "Carmen Sæculare," a poem consisting of nineteen Sapphic stanzas, and notable rather for its skilful versification than for its poetic qualities. The fact that Horace was selected to compose this hymn to Apollo and Diana is further confirmation of his upright character and mode of life. We can scarcely imagine Augustus, the reformer and censor, assigning to a libertine—as some would reckon Horace—the honour of making this contribution to the religious literature of the Roman State.

In this connexion we may be permitted again to draw upon the Suetonian "Life" for a passage which supports our contention, and which goes on to describe the manner in which Augustus at last obtained his wished-for letter from Horace :

"Scripta eius usque adeo probavit mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est ut non modo sæculare carmen componendum iniunxerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere ; post sermones vero lectos quosdam nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus : 'Irasci me tibi scito quod non in plerisque eiusmodi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit quod videaris familiaris nobis esse ?' Expressitque eclogam illam cuius initium est, 'Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus.'"

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XX

IN the year after the celebration of the Secular Games Augustus was forced to leave Rome for a protracted period. His legate, Marcus Lollius, had sustained a severe defeat from the German Sygambri, and further danger threatened from the turbulent tribes on the northern frontier. From September of 16 B.C. to February 13 B.C. the Emperor was engaged in Germany, Spain, and Gaul ; but we may be sure he kept a careful watch all the while over the trend of affairs in the capital. At the same time his stepsons, the Neros, Tiberius and Drusus, conducted successful campaigns against the Alpine Ræti, and their neighbours, the Vindelici, and the achievements of these princes as well as those of their chief were duly chronicled by Horace's pen.

The odes composed in this connection form the *raison d'être* of Book IV, which, as a sequel to the famous Three Books, is interesting in many ways. Horace was ageing rapidly. Even when he wrote the first odes he had not been too ready to submit to the yoke of Venus, and now, close upon his fiftieth year, he declares himself far too hard-mouthed to be guided by her gentle rein.

> Intermissa, Venus, diu
> rursus bella moves ? parce, precor, precor.
> non sum qualis eram bonæ
> sub regno Cinaræ. desine, dulcium

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mater sæva Cupidinum,
circa lustra decem flectere mollibus 1370
iam durum imperiis: abi,
quo blandæ iuvenum te revocant preces.

. . . . .

me nec femina nec puer
iam nec spes animi credula mutui,
nec certare iuvat mero,
nec vincire novis tempora floribus.

Odes, IV, i. 1–8, 29–32.

While the poet's feelings thus show a change, his personal circumstances too had altered during the last ten years. The laureate of Rome and esteemed friend of the Emperor has no hesitation now in obtruding his own personality in the lyrics or in claiming for himself the title of poet. At the end of an ode to Apollo and Diana, which is clearly a study for the "Carmen Sæculare," Horace pictures one of the maidens of the chorus boasting in after-years of the honour that had been hers:

Nupta iam dices: "ego dis amicum,
sæculo festas referente luces,
reddidi carmen, docilis modorum
vatis Horati." 1380

Ibid. vi. 41–44.

In another ode (IV, iii.) he again returns thanks to Melpomene for her good gift of song:

O testudinis aureæ
dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas,
o mutis quoque piscibus
donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum,

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totum muneris hoc tui est,
quod monstror digito prætereuntium
Romanæ fidicen lyræ :
quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

Odes, IV, iii. 17–24.

Along with these changes in the poet himself we note in Book IV a reflex of the alteration in the state of the Roman world. The fears for the ruin of society so often expressed in the earlier odes are not to be found in the sequel. Through the victories of Augustus abroad and his peaceful reforms at home, the old hopes and prayers had been realized, and—at least, according to Horace—a Golden Age had begun.

The artistic arrangement of the fifteen pieces in this book has been splendidly analysed by Mr. E. C. Wickham, who shows how the poet, as usual, introduced some lighter verse to lend variety to the volume, and skilfully placed the odes on Augustus and the two young princes "so that any praises of the latter might seem to lead up to and merge themselves in the glory of the former." [1]

As a type of our poet's later style in panegyric we select a few stanzas from the poem in honour of the younger and more popular of the Neros. After describing the awe-inspiring swoop of Drusus upon his foe, Horace goes on to sing the praises of the Claudian house, one illustrious scion of which, by his victory

[1] Wickham's "Horace," vol. i. p. 258.

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at the Metaurus, had crushed for ever the hopes of Hannibal :

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis ;
est in iuvencis, est in equis patrum 1390
virtus, neque imbellem feroces
progenerant aquilæ columbam ;
doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
rectique cultus pectora roborant ;
utcunque defecere mores,
indecorant bene nata culpæ.
quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,
testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal
devictus et pulcher fugatis
ille dies Latio tenebris, 1400
qui primus alma risit adorea,
dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas
ceu flamma per tædas vel Eurus
per Siculas equitavit undas.
post hoc secundis usque laboribus
Romana pubes crevit, et impio
vastata Pœnorum tumultu
fana deos habuere rectos,
dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal :
" cervi, luporum præda rapacium, 1410
sectamur ultro, quos opimus
fallere et effugere est triumphus.
gens, quæ cremato fortis ab Ilio
iactata Tuscis æquoribus sacra
natosque maturosque patres
pertulit Ausonias ad urbes,
duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
per damna, per cædes ab ipso
ducit opes animumque ferro. 1420

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Karthagini iam non ego nuntios
mittam superbos : occidit, occidit
spes omnis et fortuna nostri
nominis Hasdrubale interempto."
nil Claudiæ non perficient manus,
quas et benigno numine Iuppiter
defendit et curæ sagaces
expediunt per acuta belli.

Odes, IV, iv. 25–6?, 69–76.

We have already drawn attention to Horace's fearlessness of those set in high places, and to his unswerving loyalty to friends. Of these traits we find still another example in his ode to the defeated general Lollius—an ode in which the poet incidentally proves that "the pen is mightier than the sword":

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
multi ; sed omnes inlacrimabiles 1430
urguentur ignotique longa
nocte, carent quia vate sacro.
paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ
celata virtus. non ego te meis
chartis inornatum silebo
totve tuos patiar labores
impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
obliviones. est animus tibi
rerumque prudens et secundis
temporibus dubiisque rectus, 1440
vindex avaræ fraudis et abstinens
ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniæ,
consulque non unius anni,
sed quotiens bonus atque fidus

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iudex honestum prætulit utili,
reiecit alto dona nocentium
vultu, per obstantes catervas
explicuit sua victor arma.

Odes, IV, ix. 25–44.

The last reference of Horace to another of his friends, his old patron Mæcenas, also occurs in this book. The poet is inviting Phyllis, "the last of all his loves," to come and help him in celebrating the birthday of the retired statesman, and addresses to her an ode of unaffected simplicity and charm, quite worthy of his best style :

Est mihi nonum superantis annum
plenus Albani cadus ; est in horto, 1450
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis ;
est hederæ vis
multa, qua crines religata fulges ;
ridet argento domus ; ara castis
vincta verbenis avet immolato
spargier agno ;
cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc
cursitant mixtæ pueris puellæ ;
sordidum flammæ trepidant rotantes
vertice fumum. 1460
ut tamen noris quibus advoceris
gaudiis : Idus tibi sunt agendæ,
qui dies mensem Veneris marinæ
findit Aprilem,
iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque
pæne natali proprio, quod ex hac
luce Mæcenas meus adfluentes
ordinat annos.

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Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit
non tuæ sortis iuvenem puella 1470
dives et lasciva tenetque grata
compede vinctum.
terret ambustus Phaëthon avaras
spes, et exemplum grave præbet ales
Pegasus terrenum equitem gravatus
Bellerophontem,
semper ut te digna sequare et ultra
quam licet sperare nefas putando
disparem vites. age iam, meorum
finis amorum— 1480
non enim posthac alia calebo
femina—condisce modos, amanda
voce quos reddas : minuentur atræ
carmine curæ.

Odes, IV, xi.

The publication of the fourth book of Odes is assigned to 13 B.C., by which time two others of the Emperor's illustrious circle, Varius and Agrippa, had passed "to fare by Vergil's side in still Elysium's land."

XXI

AS he grew older Horace's output of literary work became more and more limited. Twice ere this (ll. 1288 and 1367) he had admitted to Mæcenas his own declining powers, and now he sorrowfully adds :

Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes :
eripuere iocos, venerem, convivia, ludum ;
tendunt extorquere poemata.

Epist. II, ii. 55-57.

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The volume which completes his writings, the second book of Epistles, contains three long essays on poets and poetry. The first epistle is that which was penned in answer to the Emperor's plaint, "Irasci me tibi scito," and consists of a vindication of contemporary poetry against the attacks of those who blindly worshipped the old school of Italian writers. Horace gives a brief outline of the origin and history of Latin poetry, indicates how his countrymen were influenced by the Greeks, and ends by complimenting Augustus for having Vergil and Varius to celebrate his exploits in epic verse ; but the Emperor must not expect his present correspondent to emulate these masters ; neither, as in the case of Agrippa full twenty years before (l. 435) does the theme admit of limping verse, nor does the poet's modesty allow him to essay a flight beyond his strength :

> Neque parvum
> carmen maiestas recipit tua, nec meus audet
> rem temptare pudor quam vires ferre recusent. 1490
>
> Epist. II, i. 257–259.

The second epistle of Book II is made up of humorous reasons for preferring philosophy to poetry, and of excuses for not sending to a friend the lyrics he was expecting. "It was poverty," says Horace, "that erewhile set me scribbling ; now that a competence is mine, why should I resume the task ? Besides, who in the world could write poetry amid the din and distractions of Rome ?"

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Præter cetera me Romæne poemata censes
scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores ?
hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis
omnibus officiis ; cubat hic in colle Quirini,
hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque :
intervalla vides humane commoda. "verum
puræ sunt plateæ, nihil ut meditantibus obstet."
festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum,
tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris, 1500
hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus :
i nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros !
scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem,
rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra :
tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatum ?

Epist. II, ii. 65–80.

Toward the end of the second epistle Horace once more expresses his contempt of excessive wealth :

Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.

Ibid. 182.

The true philosopher, he says, will remember that earthly possessions are to be enjoyed only for a brief spell ; soon will come inexorable death and our hard-won riches must pass from us, perhaps to some spendthrift heir. The best course, therefore, is to enjoy in due moderation, and try to eradicate from the mind avarice and all other failings. If in the end a man does not know how to live aright, let him make way for better men :

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Pauperies immunda domus procul absit : ego utrum
nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem.
non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo : 1510
non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus Austris,
viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re
extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.
non es avarus : abi ! quid ? cetera iam simul isto
cum vitio fugere ? caret tibi pectus inani
ambitione ? caret mortis formidine et ira ?
somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides ?
natales grate numeras ? ignoscis amicis ?
lenior et melior fis accedente senecta ? 1520
quid te exempta iuvat spinis de pluribus una ?
vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti :
tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius æquo
rideat et pulset lasciva decentius ætas.

Epist. II, ii. 199–216.

The last three lines of this passage, which brings the second epistle to a close, are particularly typical of Horace's sound sense and unfailing humour, tinged with the melancholy which was inherent in his nature, and which increased with advancing years.

The poem "De Arte Poetica," which forms the third epistle of Book II, is a lengthy though unfinished piece of dramatic criticism. It was addressed to Calpurnius Piso (who was consul in 15 B.C.) and his two sons, and most probably was not published until after the poet's death. In his survey of the drama Horace discusses the construction of plots, the choice of language

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and metre, and the proper delineation of character. "This discursive and fragmentary essay," says Mr. J. W. Mackail,[1] "was taken in later ages as an authoritative treatise; and the views expressed by Horace on a form of poetical art with which he had little practical acquaintance had, at the revival of literature, and even down to last century, an immense influence over the structure and development of the drama. Just as modern comedy based itself on imitation of Plautus and Terence, and as the earliest attempts at tragedy followed haltingly in the steps of Seneca, so as regards the theory of both, Horace, and not the Greeks, was the guiding influence."

XXII

THE last few years of Horace's life were uneventful and rather sad. One by one his friends were slipping away from him. Messalla died when consul in 12 B.C., and three years later Horace, along with Augustus, would mourn the death of the youthful Drusus in the midst of his great work in Germany. But soon a blow even more severe to the poet personally was to befall him. Long years before, when Mæcenas had sent him a letter from a bed of sickness, Horace replied in an ode in which he endeavoured to console and cheer his patron, assuring him that their mutual affection was too deep to bear the separation

[1] "Latin Literature," p. 118.

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that death would bring. "Together," he says, "as comrade by comrade's side we shall tread the last path of all."

Cur me querellis exanimas tuis ?
nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius
obire, Mæcenas, mearum
grande decus columenque rerum.
a, te meæ si partem animæ rapit 1530
maturior vis, quid moror altera,
nec carus æque nec superstes
integer ? ille dies utramque
ducet ruinam. non ego perfidum
dixi sacramentum : ibimus, ibimus,
utcunque præcedes, supremum
carpere iter comites parati.

Odes, II, xvii. 1–12.

Strange to relate, the prophecy in these stanzas was now to be fulfilled. Mæcenas, as we have remarked, had long been an invalid. What torture he endured in his later years we may gather from the following reference to him by the elder Pliny : "Quibusdam perpetua febris est sicut C. Mæcenati. Eidem triennio supremo nullo horæ momento contigit somnus." At last, in the autumn of 8 B.C., the suffering statesman died, leaving the care of his friend Horace as a legacy to Augustus : "Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor." But the poet did not long survive his companion ; on November 27 he too passed away, bequeathing his small fortune to the Emperor.[1] His body was

[1] "Herede Augusto palam nuncupato, cum urgente vi valetudinis non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas."—Suetonian "Life."

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interred on the slope of the Esquiline, where his patron also had been laid to rest.

Of the achievement of Horace in the realm of literature enough has now been said. In brief, his poetic genius manifested itself in two distinct fields: in the first place, he continued and brought to perfection the native poetry of his country, the satire or commentary on contemporary life; and in the second he adapted to the Roman tongue the rhythm and measures of the Greek lyrists with such wonderful success that no one afterward ventured to tread in his footsteps. At the same time, through both the hexameter pieces and the lyrics there runs a vein of such kindly feeling, such sound common sense and worldly wisdom, that not only did the poet gain the affection of his contemporaries, but he became the friend and companion of men of culture in every age and in every clime. With truth indeed had he said, "I shall not altogether die," and although it was only for the Three Books that he claimed this immortality, we may be allowed to extend those prophetic words to include the other works, as well as the charming example displayed in the life of that "wise and kindly heathen" Quintus Horatius Flaccus.

Exegi monumentum ære perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius,
quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens 1540
possit diruere aut innumerabilis
annorum series et fuga temporum.

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non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
vitabit Libitinam : usque ego postera
crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.
dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus
et qua pauper aquæ Daunus agrestium
regnavit populorum, ex humili potens
princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos 1550
deduxisse modos. sume superbiam
quæsitam meritis et mihi Delphica
iauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.

Odes, III, xxx.

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A COMPANION TO HORACE AND HIS POETRY

BY J. B. CHAPMAN M.A.

Classical Master in Airdrie Academy

The companion volume contains Notes on the selections herein quoted, as well as a Select Glossary. The Notes are intended for Students such as those preparing for University Entrance Examinations. Several maps, schemes of metres, etc., complete a book which together with Horace and His Poetry provides a very satisfactory school course

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